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PERIODICALS DEPARTMENT

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EDITORIAL

ABSENCE, NOT AGE, MATTERS

As much as Walter Mondale insists that he wants to fight the election campaign on the issues, the progress he has made so far has been largely on the images. The spectacle of a bumbling Ronald Reagan on the debating platform in Louisville, Kentucky, contrasted sharply with the more vigorous and fluent Mondale. The President lost his place during the proceedings, repeated himself distractedly and at times seemed alarmingly at a loss for words. For the first time, many Americans saw the old actor perform without cue cards, stumped for answers to serious questions. "What Louisville did," *New York Times* columnist James Reston wrote of the event, "was not to expose his age, which everybody knew, but to expose his mind, which the voters didn't know."

Despite Reston's protestations, however, it is age that is likely to be raised by the press (and, of course, by Democrats) as a reason to be wary of a second Reagan term. That may not be the best approach to what is nevertheless an urgent matter. The cause of Reagan's dysfunction may be interesting to an American audience hooked on medical melodramas, but the consequences of his problem are truly important.

Presidents fully in command of their faculties and in control of the government do horrible things, but those who have abdicated a measure of their power pose a danger of a different kind. In such a situation, a group of inaccessible and unaccountable aides and surrogates run the affairs of state, make decisions and push buttons. And in the Reagan White House, that caretaker Presidency would comprise a cadre adhering to an aggressive and authoritarian ideology quite removed from the more pragmatic—and democratic—politics that support an elected President. With less than a month to go, the image of a disabled President is becoming an issue in itself.

KHRUSHCHEV THE GOOD
Stephen F. Cohen

SENDING IN THE HUEYS
Scott Wallace

INVISIBLE MOTHERS
Nancy Folbre

LABOR & THE ELECTION
Lance Compa

MARSHALL/ 'NATION' POETRY PRIZE

'BLAM!'
Arthur C. Danto

PUNISHING THE GUILTY

ARGENTINA'S DILEMMA OF CONSCIENCE

JOSEPH A. PAGE

On September 20, a presidential commission set up to investigate human-rights violations under the military regime that ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1983 presented its 300-page findings to President Raúl Alfonsín. The report has rekindled debate on an issue that deeply divides the nation.

What is at stake is more than the survival of the fledgling elected government of President Alfonsín and his Radical Party. How the Argentines deal with the traumas of their recent past will affect the course of events in Brazil, Uruguay and Chile, where efforts to restore or preserve constitutional rule must confront the legacy of similar crimes by military dictatorships. In those countries, democratic forces as well as the uniformed men holding the reins of power are anxiously watching developments in Argentina.

Upon assuming office last December, Alfonsín resolved to let the armed forces have the first crack at passing judgment on those who committed atrocities during the military's so-called dirty war against left-wing guerrillas and subversives in the late 1970s. The President put his faith in the military justice system and the civilian courts, which would hear appeals on decisions of the military tribunals. But little progress has been made in bringing the guilty parties to justice.

The families of the victims of state-sponsored terrorism are growing impatient. The commission's report, backed up by 50,000 pages of documentation, puts the number of those who were arrested under the military regime and are unaccounted for at nearly 9,000. Most were tortured

(*Continued on Page 386*)

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LETTERS.

CALLING ON CONGRESS

Pacific Grove, Calif.

Thank you for David Pearson's "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It" [August 18-25]. I have asked my Representative, Leon Panetta, to call for a Congressional inquiry into the matter. Pearson's research is the kind we need to bolster our belief that the Reagan Administration was culpable in this incident.

If nothing more, the article should warn everyone about how dangerous Reagan really is. In these days of six-minute warnings we cannot afford his kind of propaganda, which substitutes rhetoric for much-needed statesmanship, and confrontational tactics for diplomacy.

The loss of 269 lives is a tragic consequence of the strategic importance that the Soviet Union and the United States attach to the North Pacific area. We must face up to the fact that just such an incident as the downing of K.A.L. 007 may very well trigger a nuclear war. Let us hope that a public airing of the matter will show the need for a nuclear freeze now, before it is too late.

Winston Elstob

BRAVO

Ossining, N.Y.

Bravo for David Pearson's article on Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Scholarly journalism at its best; the sort of thing for which I.F. Stone and *The Nation* will be long and well remembered regardless of the uncertain future.

Albert I. Berger

MY PRESIDENT TOLD ME . . .

New York City

David Pearson's article on the Korean airliner incident raises interesting speculations about how much the U.S. government may have known about the flight. However, I find it even more interesting to discover certain previously stated facts startlingly confirmed:

§ The Russians were following the airliner for almost two hours before they shot it down.

§ The Russians never made an effort to warn the airliner that it was off course.

§ The Russians made no effort of any kind to communicate with the airliner until twelve minutes before they shot it down.

§ The Russians observed the airliner visually for almost eighteen minutes, and during part of that time they were less than 2,000 meters away from it.

§ After the Russians fired cannon bursts, the airliner blinked its lights, slowed down and transmitted its altitude—just as President Reagan said.

§ The airliner was aware that it was being intercepted for two minutes and two seconds before it was shot down.

Pearson's evidence raises two questions that I had not previously considered. First, what was the meaning of the fighter pilot's statement "I will try rockets"? Did that mean that the cannon bursts executed earlier were actually part of an attempt to shoot down the airliner with cannon fire? If so, then the last Soviet transmission prior to the shootdown was, "They do not see me"—just as the U.S. government has asserted. Second, the fighter transmissions contain no evidence of an attempt to identify the target. Why? A reasonable hypothesis would be either that it had already been identified as a scheduled flight or that its identity was of no consequence.

James K. Ribe

PEARSON REPLIES

New Haven, Conn.

Perhaps the best way to respond to the many letters concerning my article on K.A.L. Flight 007 is to present some of the other information uncovered recently.

The respected Thames Television program *T.V. EYE*, in a July segment titled "007—Licensed to Spy?" revealed that an electrical maintenance worker at Anchorage air-traffic control was instructed to turn off the King Salmon military radar feed an hour and a half before K.A.L. 007's departure.

T.V. EYE also noted that when the National Transportation Safety Board (N.T.S.B.) notified Washington that a V.I.P. was on board the airliner, several hours after the downing, the State Department said it "would handle" matters, since the occurrence was not technically an accident (the plane had been falsely reported to have landed safely on Sakhalin Island) and therefore not a matter for N.T.S.B. involvement. State requested the board to teletype all materials and forward all original documents in the case immediately. This is unprecedented. To date, N.T.S.B., the one U.S. agency charged by law to investigate such a case, has not done so.

Also extraordinary is the gag order the Justice Department has imposed on the discovery process for all legal actions brought by the victims' families. Furthermore, it is unprecedented that the order has been extended to employees of the Federal Aviation Administration.

An article in the October 3 issue of *The Weekly*, a Seattle-based magazine, offers new evidence concerning K.A.L. 007's mission and ultimate destruction. Through an analysis of K.A.L. 007's actions during its last thirty-eight minutes of flight, and particularly the final twelve minutes, following the launching of missiles by a Soviet interceptor, *The Weekly* suggests that K.A.L. 007 ignored Soviet signals and attempted to evade interceptors at substantial altitude. More important, the article reports, the aircraft flew under control for twelve minutes without broadcasting a Mayday or seeking aid before it exploded midair over the Sea of Japan, at 1838 Greenwich mean time.

According to a forthcoming article by Ralph McGehee in *Muse*, the United States used commercial airplanes to engage in more than 200 spy flights over China in the 1950s and early 1960s. McGehee reports that Civil Air Transport Airlines (CAT), which was owned jointly by the government of Nationalist China and the Central Intelligence Agency, was the original link in the first C.I.A. empire that included dozens of airlines around the world. It later merged with the government-owned airline in Nationalist China. A July 1961 memorandum in the Pentagon papers from Gen. Edward Landsdale, an expert on counterinsurgency, to Gen. Maxwell Taylor, President Kennedy's military adviser at the time, reveals the use of commercial aircraft in intelligence activities:

> CAT is a commercial air line engaged in scheduled and nonscheduled air operations throughout the Far East. . . . During the past ten years, it has had some notable achievements, including . . . more than 200 overflights of mainland China and Tibet.

In addition, Capt. Robert Allardyce, a former commercial pilot who has been conducting his own investigation into the incident, has observed that K.A.L. 007 flew no leg of its trip at its authorized speed, took on additional fuel in Anchorage that was not necessary for its scheduled flight and was picked up by Japanese radar at an unauthorized altitude. When one considers all the new information on the case one hardly requires a conspiracy theory to note the many remaining unresolved questions surrounding the plane's downing. As others pursue this important story, other questions will undoubtedly arise. It is surely time, however, for an appropriate Congressional investigatory body to address the many questions already raised in the case.

David Pearson

CORRECTIONS

In his article "Who Killed Archbishop Romero?" last week, Craig Pyes should have written that the toll of people arrested, murdered or "disappeared" in El Salvador in 1980 was upward of 500 a month, not 500 a week.

Due to a typographical error in Alexander Cockburn's column last week, the Palestinian district of Kudus appeared as Kadus.

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

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EDITORIALS.

Subject to Debate

As Gertrude Stein lay dying, Alice B. Toklas approached her deathbed and asked tearfully, "What is the answer?" Miss Stein, it is said, managed one last mischievous smile and replied, "What is the answer? In that case, what is the question?" The exchange between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale last week hardly evoked the quality of that expatriate repartee in postwar Paris, but it did make a similar important point: that a good question can set the terms of debate, while even the best answer can only follow the leader.

Mondale's winning moment came with a wrenching reversal of the two candidates' customary roles. Turning and addressing the President directly, he said, "'There you go again.' . . . Remember the last time you said that?" Reagan could manage only a wan "um hmm" as Mondale reconstructed the context of Reagan's famous quip in his debate with Jimmy Carter. When Carter badgered him to tell the truth about the "secret" budget cuts he had in store for Medicare, Reagan said, "There you go again," and insisted he had no plan to make cuts in the program. This time, after Reagan used the line again, Mondale took the offensive and

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pointed out that Reagan had indeed tried to cut Medicare, by $20 billion.

Unfortunately, there were few other points in the ninety minutes of rather pedestrian conversation between the candidates when Mondale took command. If Mondale won, as the polls and pundits suggest, he did so by remaining sensible and coherent, while Reagan seemed to lose his wits, his train of thought and his legendary charm. Mondale's victory, then, is incomplete, and he should be thinking hard about a better strategy for next time.

He cannot redesign the structure of the debate or arrange for more engaging interrogators. But he can expand the panel's questions and thereby take hold of the event. Last time, he talked to Reagan's issues: the economy, the defense budget, prayer, religion and politics, farm policy, "leadership." Although he gave his own answers—some of which were reasonable; most, unexceptionable—Mondale never conveyed the impression that he had an agenda for America. He hardly mentioned blacks and racism; he limited his discussion of sexual equality to a defensive answer to Diane Sawyer's questions about abortion; he took Sawyer's other silly points about God and religion at face value and never went beyond them, as he could have, to present an alternative vision of the national conscience and culture.

What if he had said this: "Abortion is a red herring dragged across the hustings by the Republicans, Diane. The issue is the government's support for women's equality and its promotion of programs to encourage it. What have you, President Reagan, done for day care, for equal pay for women, for equality in federally funded schools and colleges, for women in the armed services? This Administration is trying to roll back the most momentous social movement in recent American history, and mine will advance it."

Similarly, perhaps it was good politics to be polite in the closing minutes of the debate, praising Reagan for the spirit and faith he had instilled in a cynical and despairing land, but he should have lambasted him for his right-wing ideology, his dangerous jingoism and his divisive rhetoric. Mondale may like Reagan personally, as he said, but Reaganism is a moral disaster and a political nightmare, and Mondale should have denounced it for the horror it is.

Next time, when the debate turns to foreign and military policy, Mondale should be wary of getting trapped in Reagan's cold war world view and imperial perspective. There is another agenda that can be projected; it raises questions about détente and not just negotiations, about the Third World's struggle for economic and political independence and not just foreign aid, about state terrorism and not just the private variety, about black Africa and not just white Europe, about peace in Central America and not just a victory for U.S. interests, about a settlement in the Middle East and not a preservation of a brutal status quo. The reporters on the press panel may not think of such things, but Mondale can ask those questions, and demand, this time, that Reagan answer.

Cooking the Books

Last week, Gen. William Westmoreland's $120 million libel suit against CBS went to trial in Federal District Court in New York City. A key issue in the case is whether the general conspired to deceive President Johnson during the Vietnam War, by revising intelligence estimates of enemy strength downward, as a CBS documentary reported in 1982. Although the trial will deal with CBS and Vietnam, perhaps some light can be shed on the general subject of military mathematics by a much less momentous instance of military fact-tampering which occurred when I was in the Army. Rather than the Tet offensive, it involved the battle of the flu.

I was a private first class working as a clerk/typist in the medical company of the 53rd Infantry Regiment, 71st Division, stationed at Fort Richardson, just outside Anchorage. Part of my job was to prepare periodic reports quantifying the diseases contracted by the men of the 53rd: forty-eight cases of V.D., six cases of frostbite, twenty-three cases of influenza and so forth. One day the company commander, a Regular Army captain, and the only nonmedical officer in the company, appeared in the infirmary, where all the doctors had their offices. Who the hell was responsible for preparing the latest figures on the number of influenza cases in the last quarter? he wanted to know. And more to the point, why were the lieutenants of the 53rd making influenza diagnoses when the laboratory lacked the appropriate facilities for definitively arriving at such a finding? "What we know and all we know is that these men had upper-respiratory infections and that's what our report should reflect!" he bellowed. "And that's an order!"

So despite the previous practice of listing influenza cases as influenza, it fell to me to convert scores of influenza entries into scores of upper-respiratory infection entries, and following that, to type up the quarterly report tabulating what turned out to be a drastic drop in the number of influenza cases from the previous quarter.

It wasn't until some months later that I discovered the reason for the 53rd's newly imposed diagnostic caution. For the previous six months the Army had been experimenting with influenza shots, and Fort Richardson was one of the few posts that had been given the shots where the number of cases had gone up rather than down. The solution? The revisionist history of influenza.

In the matter of General Westmoreland's alleged premature revisionism of the history of the Vietnam War, the issues are far more important, involving the conduct of the war and freedom of the press. Thus far, legal expenses on both sides have amounted to $5 million, and the lawyers' desk timers are ticking away as you read this. A star-studded cast has been lined up to appear on the witness stand, including former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, former Deputy Special Assistant for National Security Affairs Walt Rostow and former Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms.

Recalling my Army days, it struck me that an important

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witness was missing from the roster. When it comes to the question of whether or not Westmoreland was playing the old Army numbers game, the one person in a position to know is the private first class whose job it was to fudge the record. If I were the defense lawyer that's who I would call, rather than the best and the brightest. VICTOR NAVASKY

Berkeley Memories

Twenty years ago this December 2, 761 students were arrested following a nightlong sit-in at the University of California at Berkeley. The sit-in and events preceding it signaled a politically conscious student activism that for a time seemed likely to become permanent in American life.

The Berkeley Free Speech Movement, as it came to be known, was a spontaneous reaction to the university's early fall announcement that on-campus organizing for off-campus activities, routine for years, would no longer be tolerated. Since Berkeley was a recruiting and fund-raising center for such diverse causes as Southern freedom rides and local peace demonstrations, the ban was not quietly received.

There followed three months of escalating confrontations between growing numbers of students, school authorities and the local police. Some were rather theatrical. On one occasion, a student challenged the rule by opening a card table on campus and distributing leaflets for off-campus causes. A dean came out to warn him. Then the police drove up and placed the student in their patrol car. Several hundred students sat down around the car, immobilizing it, and used its roof as a stage for all-night speechmaking. In the morning, a swap was negotiated: student for car.

Eventually came the sit-in, the arrests, the mass trial, the mass trespass convictions and the mass fines. Eventually the ban, illegal under the First Amendment, was withdrawn by the school.

The events of that fall term at Berkeley drew international notice. There were front-page stories in the national press. *The New Yorker* dispatched a Far-Flung Correspondent. Bertrand Russell sent a congratulatory telegram. Journalists from Europe and Asia came to the campus.

Why all the attention? I think it came because the Berkeley Free Speech Movement was the first modern demonstration by American students about an issue more consequential than dormitory curfews or dress codes. This was not Western Europe or South America, where student activism was an expected tradition; it was the United States, where tradition endorsed inanities like panty raids, goldfish swallowing and squeezing bodies into telephone booths.

The Free Speech Movement signified that some students were prepared to take their college years extremely seriously. And in the following decade, many did.

Students were at the forefront of the civil rights, antiwar and environmental campaigns. They were important to the Presidential bids of George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy. They challenged the ways in which colleges invested endowment money, made faculty appointments and behaved within their neighborhoods. They dominated the serial marches on Washington in the 1960s and early 1970s, often arriving after long rides on chartered buses.

It didn't last. The "student movement that began at Berkeley," as journalists were fond of calling it, vanished about as abruptly as it had appeared. I mark its demise with Richard Nixon's resignation. The campuses have been silent since. Today there are few teach-ins on Latin America, few student demonstrations against fiscal decisions that topple millions of Americans into poverty, few organized protests against reactionary and radical civil rights policies.

Are current university students derelict for abandoning the "tradition" begun two decades ago at Berkeley? Or does each generation understandably respond to its times?

The student movement of the 1960s and early 1970s was basically altruistic. Whatever one's views on its various positions, student activism in those years was characterized by a concern for others, an engagement with public questions. It arose at a time when selflessness was encouraged, when there was an emphasis on social responsibility, when one of the most memorable public statements was John Kennedy's inaugural plea that we ask what we could do for our country.

The nation's mood has changed. Concern for others has yielded to concern for self and the pursuit of personal gain. President Reagan suggests that we ask whether we are better off now than we used to be. If other Americans accept that standard, can we expect students to choose much differently?

Twenty years ago at Berkeley, we thought something important was happening. We thought we were history. Today we know better. We were only news. STEPHEN GILLERS

Stephen Gillers is a professor of law at New York University.

STAFF NOTES

This week, Micah L. Sifry joins our masthead as the Carey McWilliams Fellow. Sifry, a former *Nation* intern, coordinated the magazine's Fact-Finders Tour to Israel and served as assistant director of the Boston Roundtable on Security, the War System and Peace Mobilization. His predecessor as McWilliams Fellow, Jane Oski, will remain with the magazine as classified advertising manager until she enters medical school next year. We welcome Sifry and thank George Monaco, whom Oski replaces, for the fine work he did.

Carey McWilliams Fellowships, administered by The Nation Institute, are awarded to independent journals so that they can hire a worthy young person with editorial aspirations.

We are also pleased to report that associate editor Andrew Kopkind is a winner of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation's 1984 Bryant Spann Memorial Prize for his article "Return of Cold War Liberalism" [*The Nation*, April 24, 1983].

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Presidential Reading

EDWARD SOREL

NOW THEY'RE ACCUSING ME OF "BIG BROTHER TACTICS"... AND WHAT THE HECK IS WRONG WITH ACTING LIKE AN OLDER BROTHER?
NO, DEAR, HE MEANS BIG BROTHER IN 1984... IT'S A NOVEL ABOUT THE FUTURE
Y'MEAN LIKE PLANET OF THE APES?
NOT EXACTLY... THE GOVERNMENT IN 1984 HAS SLOGANS LIKE "WAR IS PEACE"...
SOMETIMES YOU MUST HAVE WAR TO GET PEACE ...LIKE IN NICARAGUA.
...AND SLOGANS LIKE "IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH"...
BUT KIDS ARE MORALLY STRONGER WHEN THEY AREN'T TAUGHT ABOUT SEX OR EVOLUTION.
...BUT BIG BROTHER CONTROLLED THE NEWS, REWROTE HISTORY AND NO ONE COULD PROTEST!
AND THAT'S WHAT 1984 IS ALL ABOUT?
SOUNDS LIKE JUST ANOTHER ONE OF THOSE UNATTAINABLE UTOPIAS.

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

The objectionable thing about this campaign is not the fact that it took until its final month for the President to make an unscripted appearance. Nor is it the fact that Walter Mondale considers his own deferential performance on that occasion to have been a triumph. It is the fact that so many editors and commentators "discovered," in the aftermath of a low-level TV exchange, what they already knew. What is it with these people? They see Reagan at close quarters, and they realize, and privately admit, that he is unfit to hold the meanest office. In the past few weeks, we have had to endure his obscene throwaway comments on Lebanon, his absurd defense of Raymond Donovan (who he actually said was being "lynched"), his tricky remarks about Edwin Meese, his failure to keep the Federal bureaucracy open after the expiration of a banal deadline and his statement that there is "no connection" between budget deficits and interest rates. We have also seen him fawning on the teamsters union and on the Jew-baiting, women-hating, God-botherers of the evangelical right. Faced with all this, the journalistic pack reiterated that, say what you like, the President had, by some cunning alchemy, located the American national G-spot.

I sometimes think I must be missing something here. Americans (or "the American people," as Walter Mondale incessantly calls them) believe in the improvability of mankind. This demarcates even the conservatives among them from their Tory cousins, who state simply that human nature cannot be changed and that it is dangerous or evil to make the effort. Such remains the unexamined conviction of the right from Lisbon to Istanbul, though it was Europeans who showed most conspicuously, in this century, that human nature could indeed be altered for the worse—and quite quickly too.

In the United States, by contrast, "improvement" is big business. Cults do it, churches do it (the two are morally the same, but that's for another time), clubs do it, ads do it, books do it, movies do it. The difficulty is that because socialism and collectivism are considered risible by the mainstream, each person is expected to accomplish the improvement on his or her own. Talk of improvement as a social or human effort, an exercise in solidarity, and you risk getting dark looks from the "four more years" mob, and from many liberals too. Very well, then, let us elevate the individual to a great height. Of what are "the masses" composed if not individuals?

Still, how could the most fervent individualist desire four more years of the mediocre puppet Ronald Reagan? Even more than his ghastly predecessor, Richard Nixon, the man is a sponge, a fantasist, an obedient projection of the aims and wishes of others. He repeatedly romances even his own petty life story. He's an apology for the autonomous individual, and so are his cronies and his few remaining friends. He represents no saga of Americanism, no test of character, no enduring set of values. Family and church, those recurring standbys of the demagogue, are neglected by him except as rhetorical opportunities. He is a hollow man, and he has been stuffed. Now, from his protected balcony, with all his bills and mortgages taken care of by less charming achievers, he proclaims the rule of every man for himself.

He's been doing this for four years and more, but it was not until his lazy, lying, chaotic performance of October 7 that the stewards of the networks and the newspapers allowed a few scales to peel from their eyes. Belated shame should also be felt by anyone who has ever said how likable our President is. Goddamnit, they were all crying, he's not even a great *communicator*.

One should not be snobbish here. There may be—there must be—many people who feel that America needed Reagan's kind of shot in the arm. It will take time for them to feel and to recognize it as a shot in the back. This realization can only be delayed, perhaps fatally, by Mondale's unbearably smug me-tooism. In the "domestic affairs" debate, we learned that Mondale is more Christian and more thrifty than the President, with unction to spare for the weak and the disadvantaged. No doubt in the "foreign affairs" debate (and what a half-baked show-biz distinction that is when missiles are almost as common as steeples on American soil) we will hear that Mondale is more patriotic and interventionist. He's already laid claim, heaven help us all, to the Olympic flame. This to compete with Reagan as a mere media phenomenon and to score ephemeral points for prime-time performance. Those who think of politics as that kind of spectacle are probably going to vote for the President anyway, and will forgive him for those off-days which he seems to be having so frequently.

On October 2, I chanced to be in California and went, after fourteen years' absence, to the public rally commemorating the anniversary of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. After twenty years, Mario Savio's politics, I am afraid, haven't improved, but then whose have? Loafing among the crowd, most of whom had come out of sentiment or curiosity, I found myself resenting the ceaseless denigration of "the sixties" that has been so much a part of this year's Democratic style. This feeling, which first came over me in a flush of rage as I watched the Democratic Convention hall *emptying* when Coretta Scott King got up to speak, is mounting as I write. Mention of the 1960s need not and should not be an occasion for sneering, embarrassment or amnesia. Those who took part, however slightly, helped to break the back of segregation. They helped terminate a criminal colonial war, to hold Congress to account and to instill a sense of outrage against official corruption and mendacity. Movements that began in that decade have outlived Franco, de Gaulle, Salazar and Papadopoulos, and will one day outlive the Brezhnev doctrine too. Perhaps the greatest of all earthquakes in contemporary attitudes—the women's movement—was also a product of that period. At the time, Governor Reagan and his sidekick Ed Meese were directing thugs and informers, and Walter Mondale was trying to have it both ways. Who should be doing the apologizing? What is needed now is a revival not of superficial "credibility" but of conviction.

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SOVIETICUS.

STEPHEN F. COHEN

Few political leaders have been less honored for the good they achieved than Nikita Khrushchev, who led the Soviet Union out of the terror-ridden wasteland of Stalinism. Overthrown by the political elite twenty years ago this month, on October 14, 1964, his entire career was excised from official histories. No Soviet obituary marked his death, at the age of 77, seven years later. And today, Khrushchev is the only former supreme leader about whom nothing favorable can be published in the Soviet Union. Nor has his reputation fared well in the West, where he is remembered mainly as a blustering adversary who once tried to turn Cuba into a Soviet missile base.

But Khrushchev's enduring legacy, which may one day restore him to a place of official honor, is the bold decade-long reformation of the Soviet system that was carried out under his leadership after Stalin's death. What he achieved is often forgotten. Many official crimes of the Stalinist past were publicly condemned, and twenty-five years of mass terror ended. Millions of people were freed from prison camps and exile, while millions who had perished were exonerated so their families could regain full citizenship. Political life became more open and accessible. Censorship was relaxed, official ideology was made less dogmatic and intellectual and cultural activity grew freer. After decades of neglect, needs of ordinary people—consumer goods, housing and welfare benefits—were given higher priority.

Ultimately, all those changes were limited. They transformed the Soviet political system but never threatened its dictatorial nature. Nonetheless, by 1964 they had cost Khrushchev the support of virtually every power elite. The result was his ouster and defamation, and the onset of eighteen years of conservative rule under Leonid Brezhnev. Legions of neo-Stalinists, in particular, never forgave Khrushchev, seeing in every unwelcome development, from the Prague Spring of 1967-68 to the advent of open dissent inside the Soviet Union itself, the "poison of Khrushchevism."

Many of Khrushchev's reforms were stopped or reversed by his successors, but every official and citizen still benefits from his lasting achievement: the considerable de-Stalinization of the Soviet Union. Indeed, in these times of growing Soviet problems and diminishing Soviet leadership, Khrushchev's precedent of bold reform from above may be increasingly relevant. It challenges all those Soviet conservatives who insist that the existing system should not or dare not change, as well as those Western cold warriors who maintain that it cannot.

Western observers often argue, for example, that no reform-minded leader can rise to the top of the Soviet system, that only a ruthless despot could impose meaningful changes on the conservative majority of officials and that the official ideology is too rigid and sterile to inspire such policies. Khrushchev's career raises serious doubts about these fatalistic assumptions, which omit, among other things, the unpredictable role of personality.

Few observers, in the West or in the Soviet Union, anticipated Khrushchev's victory over his formidable rivals in the post-Stalin succession struggle of the 1950s. Even fewer imagined that this uneducated, rustic apparatchik, who had risen from coal miner to Politburo member as a result of Stalin's terrorist politics, would become, as Russians say, a *velikii reformator*, a "great reformer." But despite his complex motives and contradictory policies, he became just that, partly in order to use de-Stalinization against opponents more deeply implicated in Stalin's crimes, partly in penitence for his own misdeeds, but mainly because he wanted history to remember him as Nikita the Good, a benevolent ruler who left his country a far better place than he found it.

Moreover, Khrushchev was never a despot or the sole official proponent of reform. Even after 1958, when he added the premiership to his position as party leader, he lacked Stalin's absolute power. His major policies always encountered powerful opposition, even in the Politburo.

He fought back by reviving long-dormant socialist commitments in Soviet ideology: equality, abundance, efficiency and justice. Coupled with anti-Stalinism, those values brought forth eager reformers in every area of Soviet policy. Some gained Khrushchev's ear and overcame his reluctance to go further, as when he decided to liberate the prison camps and to allow publication of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's novella about life there. Although only a minority, thousands of such officials fought alongside Khrushchev, achieving far more change in the system than most Western experts had ever thought possible.

Is Khrushchev's example a valid alternative in Soviet politics today, or was it an aberration produced by special circumstances of the 1950s? Certainly, a new reformist leader would face different obstacles at home and abroad. No longer terrorized, officials throughout the system have grown more conservative and more able to thwart change from above. Nor did Khrushchev have to cope with all the superpower burdens taken on by his successors. Internal reform requires, as he understood, a substantial détente with the United States. But no Soviet leader today can be confident that an American President would meet him halfway, as Dwight Eisenhower did Khrushchev.

And yet, evidence persists of a growing reformist mood in official Soviet circles, just below the top leadership, in response to the country's worsening economic and social problems. Since Yuri Andropov's death and the rise of Konstantin Chernenko, the hopes of reformers have centered on the political fortunes of younger Politburo members, especially 53-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev, who began their careers under Khrushchev (not Stalin) and played no role in his overthrow.

Not surprisingly, there are even fleeting signs of a behind-the-scenes struggle, launched by reformers, to rehabilitate Khrushchev's reputation. If those signs continue, we will know that a contender for power stands behind them, and that he is preparing to risk his chances on another program of bold reform from above.

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ARTICLES.

HUEYS IN EL SALVADOR

Preparing for a Stepped-Up War?

SCOTT WALLACE

San Salvador

When ten new UH-1H combat helicopters arrived here from the United States in early September, reporters were looking the other way. Yet the Vietnam-era Hueys represented a 42 percent increase in the Salvadoran Air Force's complement, bringing the total to thirty-four. U.S. officials say that ten to fifteen more are expected by the end of the year.

Charmed by President José Napoleón Duarte's promises to bring justice and peace to his people, members of Congress voted on August 10 to provide him with $70 million in supplemental military aid. The Hueys are highly visible tokens of their support.

But they also mean that the four-and-a-half-year civil war could enter a new, bloodier phase—particularly if the peace talks between President Duarte and the rebels fail, as many here predict. The helicopters will be used to implement a counterinsurgency strategy that has long been advocated by U.S. military advisers here. It calls for carrying the war to the rebels and their civilian bases of support in the northern and eastern provinces. Unarmed civilians living in rebel-held areas who refuse to move to government refugee camps will be subject to direct attack.

The Hueys will be used to counteract the element of surprise the rebels have employed so effectively in the war. By attacking government installations when least expected and then ambushing the reinforcements that are sent in, they have been able to inflict severe casualties. The Salvadoran Army plans to respond to such raids with lightning attacks. The new strategy involves flying troops over rugged terrain where they would otherwise be vulnerable to ambush and depositing them where they can block the guerrillas' escape.

But U.S. counterinsurgency specialists also advocate using the helicopters to airlift small units of elite troops deep into rebel-controlled territory, where they can strike at the heart of the enemy's logistical support system. Such forays will compel the guerrillas to protect the unarmed peasants, known as the *masas* ("the masses"), who live with them and provide them with food and supplies.

Although U.S. officials deny that the helicopter-borne assault teams will be used to terrorize civilians who back the guerrillas, government forces are already rehearsing the tactic. On August 30, around the time the shipment of Hueys arrived, army units launched helicopter assaults on the townships of Las Vueltas and San José Las Flores in rebel-controlled zones of Chalatenango province.

Journalists who arrived on the scene ten days later were told by local peasants that at least thirty-seven women, children and old people had been killed in the operation. According to the villagers, helicopters bearing Salvadoran troops, led by the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion, stalked a group of several hundred peasants who were escorted by a small force of armed guerrillas. The peasants described their bewilderment and terror as they saw the helicopters land troops on hilltops all around them, cutting them off. When the soldiers closed in, some people panicked and plunged into the rapidly flowing Gualsinga River, where several drowned. Others were cut down by machine-gun fire or taken prisoner. (Forty-eight of those captured were later turned over to the Red Cross.) The remaining civilians escaped when the guerrillas fought their way out of the army cordon.

Journalists at the site found evidence confirming the villagers' reports, including five badly decomposed bodies of women and children lying near the river. U.S. officials said they were reluctant to comment on the alleged massacre until the Duarte government had conducted an investigation. When President Duarte returned from a Latin American tour on September 20, he announced that the probe had uncovered no evidence of army wrongdoing. Quite the contrary, he said: the valiant soldiers had rescued thirty-eight fleeing peasants who were trying to cross the Sumpul River, on the Honduran border. His account failed to explain the five bodies found beside the Gualsinga River.

DRAWINGS BY BILL LOGAN

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The presence of armed guerrillas among the peasants appears to have softened the implication of a massacre. No one disputes the fact that the rebels had returned the Salvadoran troops' fire. But the civilian survivors insist that it was a massacre.

When the army adopts the new counterinsurgency tactics, incidents in which armed guerrillas and civilians are taken by surprise in their home territory by heliborne assault units will occur with increased frequency. U.S. officials claim, however, that in small-unit engagements, Salvadoran troops will be able to distinguish between combatants and unarmed civilians.

"You can see who you're fighting, who's carrying an M-16 and who's carrying an M-60 machine gun," said a U.S. official. "It's pretty clear he's a guerrilla."

But the peasants of Las Vueltas and San José Las Flores, and the rest of the estimated 150,000 to 200,000 *masas* who live in guerrilla-held areas, might be forgiven if they do not share that faith in the Salvadoran Army.

"It looks like they want to eliminate all of us so that there are only people like them left," I was told by a 50-year-old woman who survived the attack. She repeatedly referred to the army as "the enemy."

Catholic Church sources believe the helicopter attacks are intended to drive away the civilians who provide the rebel combatants with food, intelligence and logistical support. "The helicopters are a new way to terrorize the *masas*," one church human-rights observer told me. "In order to depopulate the zone, they will hunt down the *masas*. They will capture who they can, evacuate them and exterminate the rest." Church officials recount that in the past, large-scale search-and-destroy operations and aerial bombardments were used by the army to kill or frighten away the civilian population in guerrilla-held zones. More than a half-million peasants have fled to displaced-person centers in government-controlled areas, but those who remain appear willing to endure the hardships of fleeing before army sweeps and digging tunnels to escape bombardment rather than accept "sanctuary" in the refugee centers sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

While admitting the theoretical value of isolating guerrillas from their civilian supporters, U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering denies that the United States is encouraging the army to target civilians in order to defeat the rebels. In the past Pickering has cited the 500,000 refugees who have come over to the "government side" as a sign of waning popular support for the guerrillas. Asked about the wholesale dislocation of civilians in El Salvador, Pickering said, "That has happened as a matter of course. It's a tragic set of circumstances. It's part of the war, but it's not part of a policy."

The objectives of Salvadoran military commanders may sometimes depart from U.S. policy, however. In a communiqué issued on September 15, El Salvador's Independence Day, the army's Third Brigade, which is based in San Miguel, declared its intention to "liberate the peasants of the East who live in caves and caverns."

"We have the fraternal obligation," the statement continued, "to call upon our brothers yet in slavery under the subversive, terrorist yoke."

Pickering said the issuance of the communiqué had nothing to do with the army's adoption of the helicopter-assault strategy. But U.S. officials say the Third Brigade has pioneered the heliborne techniques and other aggressive tactics. Reportedly, the San Miguel garrison will soon acquire seven of the new choppers. (The State Department denies this.)

Those familiar with the language of psychological warfare and the particular brutalities of the Salvadoran war will have little trouble reading the army's call as a final warning. There is still time for the *masas* to come down from the mountains and join the privileged half-million. The remaining peasants—armed or unarmed—who refuse to heed the call of freedom can expect to be considered "enemies of the fatherland" and treated accordingly. The lucky ones will be captured. □

INVISIBLE WOMEN

Motherhood–the Forgotten Issue

NANCY FOLBRE

Despite all the rhetoric about family values from the Republicans and the Democrats, neither seem concerned about the economic well-being of mothers. Race and class largely determine women's economic vulnerability, but women with children are far more susceptible to poverty than are men or childless women. In 1981, 68 percent of all single mothers with at least one child under 6 and one or more older children were poor. In contrast, unmarried women without children had a higher average income than childless couples.

Although the major parties call themselves pro-women and pro-family, their records do not support those claims. Specifically, they have not acted on five crucial matters: guaranteed parenthood leave, publicly funded day-care facilities, enforcement of a father's child-support responsibilities, welfare protection for women and children living in poverty and federally funded abortions.

Motherhood, like apple pie, is a cliché that politicians can invoke at relatively low cost. Because it is sanctified as a religious, moral or cultural mission, raising children is not considered work. If it's not work, it doesn't have to be paid for. And if it doesn't have to be paid for, employers, absent fathers and the government need not worry about it. Household labor, after all, is not included in the gross national product.

As most mothers and some fathers recognize, child rearing is, among other things, a form of labor. The fact that

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it's not paid for has some peculiarly unfair economic consequences. When today's children enter the work force, their Social Security taxes will largely support today's adults in their old age, whether or not those adults directly contributed to the "child-rearing sector" of the economy. If that sector seems invisible it is partly because the United States does not provide child-support allowances. It is the only Western industrialized country that has neither national health insurance nor a systematic maternity-leave policy guaranteeing seniority and pension rights.

U.S. courts recognize childbearing as a disability, requiring only that pregnant women be provided the same medical coverage and sick leave that other disabled workers receive. Since many firms do not provide such benefits, only about 40 percent of all working women are covered.

In 1978 California passed legislation guaranteeing a woman up to four months of unpaid maternity leave. Recently a Federal District Court found the law in conflict with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which stipulates that pregnant women may not be treated differently from other employees. The problem could be averted if, as in Sweden, both men and women were guaranteed parenthood leave. But neither maternity nor paternity leaves seem to be on the national political agenda.

Day-care centers and nursery schools in the United States fall well below European standards. This summer's cases of sexual abuse have dramatized the absence of Federal regulation or licensing of private facilities. New commercially franchised day-care centers are able to accommodate hundreds of "units," as children are referred to in management parlance, but even mass-produced day care remains scarce.

Where high-quality day care is available, the cost is often prohibitive for all but the well-off. Parents in the upper tax brackets enjoy write-offs for child-care expenses, but less affluent mothers face a circular problem: unable to pay for child care, they never obtain the job experience they need to earn sufficient wages to pay for child care. Public support for day care, always scant, has been significantly reduced. Between 1981 and 1983, direct Federal and state spending on child care for low-income families dropped 14 percent.

Lack of access to well-paying jobs means that a lot of mothers are economically dependent on financial support from the father of their children. Yet this support is often not provided. In 1981, as in previous years, only about 25 percent of all single mothers received the support payments due them. When a bill requiring states to withhold money from paychecks of delinquent parents was introduced in Congress in 1983, even members of the New Right could not bring themselves to vote against it. But experience with a 1975 Federal law applying similar sanctions to fathers of children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (A.F.D.C.) suggests that enforcement will be a major problem. Despite its vocal support for the 1983 legislation, the Reagan Administration now seeks to reduce Federal funding for the existing Child Support Enforcement Program.

Mothers' economic vulnerability explains their need for public assistance. In 1979, 25 percent of all mothers receiving A.F.D.C. were in the labor force. A 1979 survey shows

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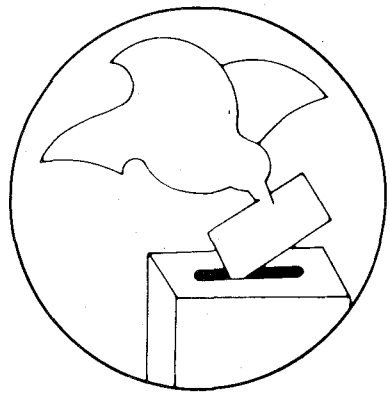

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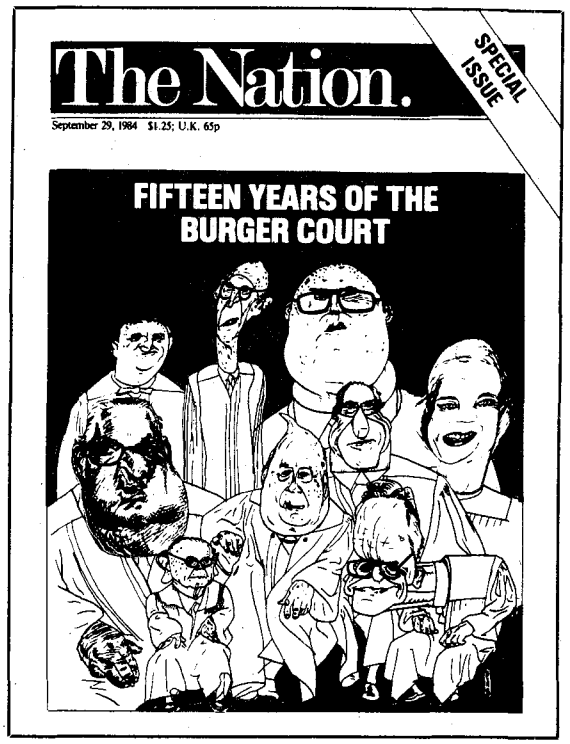

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that approximately half the families receiving A.F.D.C. payments leave the program within two years. Yet during the last five years, eligibility requirements for assistance have been tightened and real benefits substantially reduced.

Throughout the 1970s many states, with the tacit support of the Federal government, lowered their A.F.D.C. costs by neglecting to raise their "standards of need" (the amount deemed necessary to maintain a minimum standard of living) to keep pace with inflation. State legislators apparently felt that poor people could subsist in 1979 on the same stipend they received in 1969, although its purchasing power had fallen by 26 percent.

Any pretense that the purpose of A.F.D.C. was to keep families out of poverty was dropped long before Ronald Reagan came to office. By 1979 only two states had a standard of need for a family of four that exceeded the Federal poverty line. Food stamps and other in-kind payments temporarily cushioned the decline in A.F.D.C. benefits. But in 1983, even combined A.F.D.C. and food stamp benefits available to families of three or four were below the poverty level in all states and were at least 25 percent below the poverty level in thirty-nine states.

A.F.D.C. and Child Support Enforcement bore the brunt of the Administration's cuts in social spending. Between 1981 and 1982, actual expenditures on these programs fell about 12 percent in real terms, and the A.F.D.C. caseload fell by 8 percent, despite increased unemployment among mothers because of the recession. This January the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the 1981 and 1982 changes will shave Federal family aid expenditures by more than $3.6 billion through 1986. Because the states normally match Federal spending on A.F.D.C., the final reductions will come to nearly twice that amount. Many of the families excluded from A.F.D.C. will lose Medicaid coverage. Black and Hispanic families will be disproportionately affected.

One might argue that declining public support for single mothers simply mirrors the overall decrease in social spending. But it also reflects a lack of recognition of mothers' work. Women who receive public assistance by virtue of their relationship to a husband get far more than those who receive assistance "only" because they are raising children. In 1970 the average A.F.D.C. recipient, often separated or divorced from the father of her children, received only 58 percent of what a widowed mother covered by Social Security received. By 1980 that percentage had dropped to 40 percent. That year the average monthly benefit for families on A.F.D.C. was only $287.77.

Many Democrats, as well as Republicans, supported the Hyde Amendment in 1976, which allowed states to deny Medicaid financing for abortions. That legislation has not lowered the rate of abortions; rather, it has forced poor women and their families to assume the burden of the cost. Yet in 1981, many Democrats approved the Reagan Administration's 22 percent cut in Federal support for family-planning services, ignoring the fact that reductions in the availability of family-planning information and contraceptives increase the risk of unwanted pregnancies, particularly for teen-agers.

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Why doesn't Walter Mondale take these problems to heart? Perhaps it is because proposals for guaranteed parenthood leave, high-quality publicly funded day care, and increased social spending in areas that affect children would conflict with his obsession with reducing the deficit. But such policies would help provide the public support that child rearing deserves. And a strong commitment to them would lend some substance to the Democrat's cheap pro-family rhetoric. □

ENERGY 'HAPPY TALK'

No Magic in This Marketplace

JOHN TIRMAN

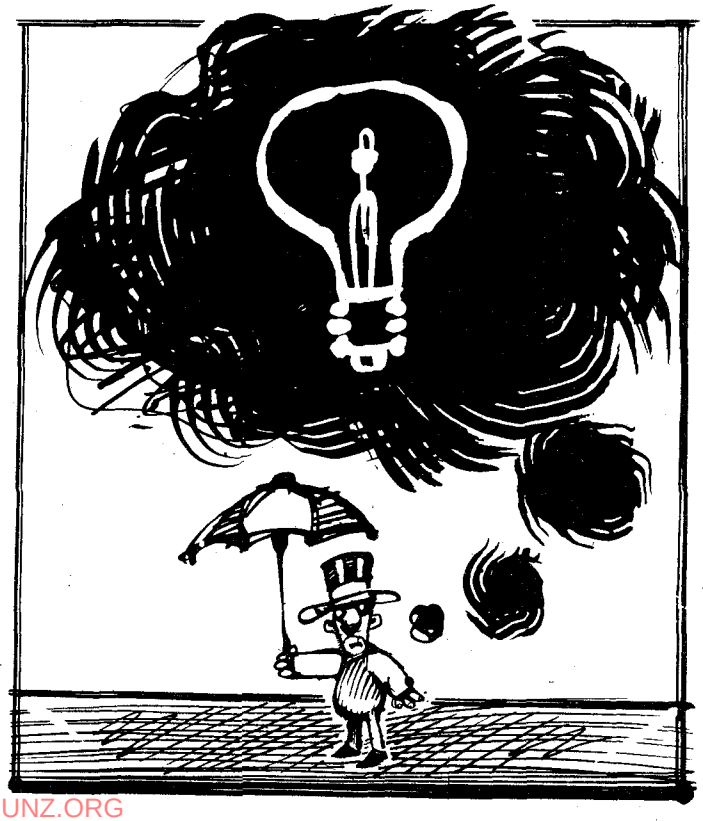
President Reagan's resilient optimism appears to have become official government policy, infecting the usually indifferent Washington bureaucracy like a tropical contagion. Take Secretary of Energy Donald Hodel. "We are better off today than we were in 1980," Hodel told the National Press Club this summer. "Consumers are reaping the benefits of oil decontrol." In a late August interview with the trade newsletter "Inside Energy," he was even less guarded: "Things have, you know, improved vastly under the Reagan Administration, for which we will duly take credit. We have no alternative but to admit that we're responsible for the successes in energy."

Actually the energy picture is not quite as rosy as Hodel depicts it, and what good news there is cannot be attributed to the Reagan team. Domestic oil production is essentially flat, and coal and gas production declined sharply from 1980 to 1983. To be sure, oil imports, the gauge of American energy disarray in the 1970s, dropped from 6.8 million barrels a day when Reagan took office to 5.5 million a day in the first half of 1984, and prices have fallen as well. But most economists say that the drop is a symptom of the 1980-83 recession and not the result of any particular action on the part of the Administration. Hodel is fond of claiming that Reagan's order to decontrol oil eight days after he took office was the momentous event that increased production and lowered prices. In fact, oil was 80 percent decontrolled by that time, so the effect of the move was minimal. What is more, prices appear to be firming up, despite enormous excess capacity in the oil-producing countries, and import levels are expected to rise 14 percent this year.

Hodel's other major claim—that the goal of U.S. energy policy is "to maintain a balanced, across-the-board approach to developing our energy resources"—is as disingenuous as the cries of victory, and probably more harmful. The Administration simply refuses to undertake crucial energy tasks that await Federal action. And old biases still drive the decision-making at the Department of Energy.

First, there is the department's stubborn allegiance to nuclear power, evidenced by the $1.4 billion requested for that purpose in the 1985 budget. This includes $623 million in the "energy supply" category, $238 million for nuclear waste disposal and $468 million for regulation. The nuclear fusion budget is an additional $483 million. The President's support for the Clinch River breeder reactor, his hope to revive spent-fuel reprocessing technology and his pledge to facilitate exports have cheered the industry without accomplishing much. Nunzio J. Palladino, chair of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, has pushed for the licensing of more nuclear plants, although the technology is dying. During Reagan's term thirty-nine plants under construction were canceled, and no new projects have been started. The economics of nuclear power, as almost everyone but the Administration acknowledges, are simply no good.

Meanwhile, the assault on alternatives begun under Reagan's first Energy Secretary, James Edwards, a dentist from South Carolina, continues, though Hodel seems more bullish on conservation and renewable sources of energy than Edwards was. "Hodel recognizes that conservation in the United States stabilizes the world oil market," says Debbie Bleviss, president of the Energy Conservation Coalition in Washington. "And he sees the problems of Third World countries being dependent on imported oil for economic growth. Is there a new commitment to conservation? It depends on your base line. Compared with Edwards, yes. Compared with the Carter Administration, no." Scott Sklar, the Congressional coordinator of the Solar Energy



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Industry Association, adds: "Hodel is much more savvy. He knows not to articulate the very negative policy Edwards did."

Budget requests are the best index of Hodel's priorities. The Carter conservation budget in 1980 was $1 billion; this year the D.O.E. is requesting $390 million, mostly because when it asked for less in the past, Congress insisted on maintaining appropriations at that level. The 1985 request for development of solar, wind, biomass and other such technologies is $200 million, down from $790 million in 1981.

In addition to protesting the evisceration of the budget, Hodel's critics accuse him of letting the most effective measures languish. Weatherization funds for low-income households were cut time and again in Reagan budgets, only to be restored partially by Congress. The Residential Conservation Service and a conservation scheme for schools and hospitals have also been under attack. And though Hodel and his conservation chief, William Patrick Collins, have said all the right things about fuel-saving and are pressing the Office of Management and Budget for more funds, the programs in place are deteriorating from neglect.

"The programs need constant review, evaluation and adjustments," Bleviss explains, "but the prevailing mentality is that the free market can do everything, that there's no role for government. So these programs are resisted, rather than well run, within D.O.E."

Some D.O.E.-watchers portray Hodel as a pragmatist who, in a second term, will be subject to heavier pressure from the free-market ideologues in the Energy Department and the O.M.B. The pragmatism-versus-ideology tussle can have a profound effect on energy costs, especially in areas where the simple market approach is doomed—for example, electric power. Demand for electricity is up sharply this year (it rose 6 percent from September 1983 to September 1984), and the utilities are sounding alarms about a catastrophic power shortage in the 1990s. The industry proposes, not surprisingly, to build huge power plants at the rate of two a month. The cost of such a building spree would be more than $700 billion by the year 2000. This is the Administration's preferred policy as well.

A far more prudent course would be to dampen demand. The government could do that by setting appliance efficiency standards. The savings that could be achieved by adopting even modest guidelines for manufacturers would be impressive and would remove the need for building dozens of proposed power plants. (Today, twenty-four large plants are required just to keep the nation's refrigerators running.) Recognizing this compelling logic, the Carter Administration had appliance standards ready for 1981. Reagan's D.O.E. not only blocked their release but issued a "no standard" standard meant to override state measures, some of which, like California's, are quite progressive and working well. A lawsuit filed by conservation activists is challenging the department's regulation this year, but the D.O.E. has yet to act. If the "no standard" standard is rescinded, states will once again be free to enact their own measures—which, unfortunately, could create chaos for manufacturers.

What is most ironic about the Administration's energy policy is that it belies the President's happy talk about high technology being America's economic savior. The White House bias against renewable energy sources and its efforts to promote nuclear exports serve to discourage the development of a U.S. energy-technology industry. According to Sklar: "The worldwide technological lead we've had in renewables is narrowing, in photovoltaics and passive solar particularly. The Japanese, the Swedes and others are about to overtake us."

The Reagan Administration reaped the anti-inflationary benefits of the oil price cataclysm of 1978-79, which drove the Western economies into a recession that lowered energy consumption and prices. It is unlikely that anything comparable will occur in the coming four years to jolt the free-marketeers from their dream world. Yet the signs of trouble in the next decade—growing imports, surging power demand, bigger cars—are there for all to see. □

LABOR AND THE ELECTION

Winning With or Without Mondale

LANCE COMPA

The hard, slogging work of local trade unionists who registered their members, campaigned in their workplaces and communities and got out the vote in the Democratic primaries saved Walter Mondale's hide when his candidacy was imperiled by Gary Hart. Can they do it again in November? A Mondale victory is a long shot and would require major foul-ups by President Reagan, but it is possible. If unions can hammer away during the final weeks of the campaign on the organizing and collective-bargaining issues that face their members, linking political action to a long-term strategy for reviving the labor movement at the grass roots, they could mobilize a large anti-Reagan vote. But even if Mondale loses, the unions' homestretch effort could help revitalize the labor movement.

Signs of renewed labor assertiveness are already apparent. Many unions that endorsed Mondale and continue to support him are moving beyond his centrist policies, particularly his unwillingness to challenge corporate power. In Chicago, the United Steelworkers of America is pushing for a municipal takeover of U.S. Steel's South Works plant because the company reneged on a promise to expand the plant and restore jobs. In a similar move earlier this year, when Gulf + Western Industries announced it would close its Morse Cutting Tool division in New Bedford, Massachusetts, workers persuaded the city to invoke its power of eminent domain. As a result of the city's threat to take over the

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A CHALLENGE TO NATION READERS TO STRIKE A BLOW AGAINST RELIGIOUS TOTALITARIANISM

On September 10, *Time* reported, "Religion has become a principal theme of the presidential campaign." I would go further: President Reagan, by warmly embracing the divisive, disruptive religious right, by endorsing and parroting its slogans on religion and morality has made religion *the* most important issue. The 1984 presidential campaign and the concurrent congressional campaigns may well be a turning point in American political and social history.

While church involvement and religious issues are not new to presidential campaigns, the 1984 campaign is different. *Something new has been added.* In the past, religious groups stopped short of challenging the constitutionally mandated separation of church and state. In this campaign the religious right, led by such people as Jerry Falwell, has added the dimension of religious intolerance and will not stop until the wall between church and state has been breached. The religious right, unlike its predecessors, is dedicated to the creation of a revolutionary, sectarian, Christian America, in which minority religions will be stigmatized as immoral.

A RECORD-BREAKING $20 MILLION SENATE RACE

Besides the presidential election, the most important election for the American people this year is the North Carolina Senate race. The incumbent far right Republican Jesse Helms, with ties to the Moral Majority, is challenged by democratic Gov. Jim Hunt. The political far and religious right has a big stake in this race. Senator Helms is the far right's spokesman in the Senate. He is being groomed as the Moral Majority's 1988 Republican presidential nominee. North Carolina is a hotbed of religious fundamentalism, and the Helms forces anticipate an easy victory. However, late polls show Governor Hunt has virtually tied Helms.

To assure a Helms victory, out-of-state supporters have poured unprecedented sums of money into the race. According to the September 24 issue of *Time*, by the close of the campaign $20 million will have been spent in the Helms–Hunt race. The Raleigh *News Observer* reports that 75 percent of Helms's campaign funds have come from outside North Carolina. The lion's share of this money is going to Senator Helms.

Governor Hunt is a leader of the progressive new South. He is a moderate Democrat. He favors voluntary school prayer, a sensible military buildup and is a strong supporter of civil rights. Despite intense pressure, he supports a woman's right to choose. Most important, if elected he will replace Jesse Helms. The race between Senator Helms and Governor Hunt is too close to call at this time. Money may well be the decisive factor.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO STRIKE A BLOW FOR THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Because I strongly believe that the defeat of Senator Helms would be a tremendous setback for the far right, I have made an unsolicited, substantial contribution to Governor Hunt's campaign. I strongly urge Nation readers to do the same. Alert your family and friends. The democratic American way of life, which is at stake here, has been good to us. This is one way to reciprocate. Fill out the coupon below. ACT NOW.

Abe Ziegler
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Jim Hunt Campaign Committee
c/o Agnes Smith
Box 25937
Raleigh, NC 27611

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plant, the New York City-based conglomerate kept it open until a buyer acceptable to the union and the city could be found. The sale was completed last month, saving as many as 300 jobs at the plant and many others among the company's suppliers and at businesses dependent on the Gulf + Western workers' patronage.

Also, last month, the United Automobile Workers won the right to represent 1,200 workers at the Superior Products auto parts plant in Van Nuys, California. The organizing campaign was carried on by union local leaders from the General Motors plant in Van Nuys, working largely through their ties in the black and Hispanic communities [see Eric Mann, "Workers and Community Take on G.M.," *The Nation*, February 11]. And in negotiations just completed, the U.A.W. and the United Mine Workers each applied an innovative strategy of selective strikes rather than industrywide stoppages, shutting down key General Motors plants and independent coal operators, respectively, to back up their no-concessions bargaining stands.

In June, the International Association of Machinists was the moving force behind an international conference on conversion from military to civilian production which attracted hundreds of trade unionists and their allies, many of them from Western Europe. The participants discussed ways to save jobs should political efforts to reduce military spending be successful. Borrowing ideas from that conference, workers at a General Electric plant in Charleston, South Carolina, which makes parts for large steam turbine generators, are pressing management for a form of nonmilitary conversion—the introduction of alternative product lines to save 450 jobs at the plant, which is scheduled to be shut down in June because of declining orders.

An effective "corporate campaign" guided by the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s Industrial Union Department, which combined legal, legislative and public pressure tactics, helped 1,900 workers at Litton Industries' microwave oven plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, reach a contract with the California conglomerate recently, nearly four years after they voted for union representation [see Compa, "How to Fight a Unionbusting Conglomerate," *The Nation*, July 9-16, 1983]. Another creative effort, by the federation's Food and Allied Service Trades Department, helped the Service Employees International Union and the United Food and Commercial Workers score important organizing gains in a nationwide effort among employees of the Beverly Enterprises nursing-home chain. Last year clerical workers at Yale University organized in the face of a sophisticated antiunion drive engineered by consultants hired by the university. Three weeks ago the Yale clericals launched a path-breaking strike centered on demands for comparable-worth pay adjustments for women and minority workers.

On foreign policy, many unions have moved to the left of the Democratic candidate. While Mondale has said he would "quarantine" Nicaragua, a dozen major unions led by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers have formed a national committee opposed to U.S. military intervention in Central America. The committee denounces military aid to El Salvador and plans to send a delegation to Nicaragua in December. Mondale has called for continued increases in military spending, but many of the twenty-four national unions that have endorsed the nuclear freeze resolution, which Mondale supports, are demanding cuts in military spending as well.

Many observers liken the labor movement to a dinosaur doomed to extinction and regard its backing of Mondale as a last-gasp effort. But the actions outlined here suggest that the labor movement could be on the verge of rebirth.

The key to that revival is the linking of separate initiatives at the national, regional and local levels with labor's 1984 political efforts. Rather than treating the day-to-day work of trade unionism—handling grievances, negotiating contracts, conducting strikes, developing organizing campaigns—as tasks separate from the political campaign, unions must combine these activities *and* political action in a comprehensive drive to rebuild their strength—and, incidentally, to elect Walter Mondale.

Shop stewards who have been coordinating voter registration drives and get-out-the-vote efforts should continue their meetings *after* November 6, seeking both to improve their effectiveness on workplace issues and to develop a grass-roots lobbying network which could apply pressure on senators and representatives to block Reagan's second-term agenda if he wins, or hold Mondale's feet to the fire if he wins. Union officials and members mobilized for the election can move naturally from political campaigning to organizing in nonunion workplaces, applying techniques they used in the political campaign: planning meetings, targeted phone drives and mailings, rank-and-file education through leaflets and classes, labor and community rallies, one-on-one canvassing and the like.

The ties that local unionists have made with feminists, civil rights organizations, peace activists, environmentalists and other groups in the anti-Reagan coalition during the campaign must be transformed into lasting alliances. These new partners can be enlisted to help organize, support striking workers, fight plant closings and runaway shops, aid the unemployed and back other labor causes. Similarly, the unions can put their weight behind their allies' campaigns.

Local officers and stewards make up the critical mass in labor's election effort. Mobilized and motivated by a fighting program in the final weeks of the campaign, those activists could move Mondale from the 50-50 split that is now projected for the union household vote to a 60-40 edge. If the Democrats get a few other breaks, that shift could put Mondale over the top.

Independent political action grounded in the workplaces and communities where workers are organizing, bargaining and striking to defend their interests provides labor's best course for helping win a Mondale-Ferraro victory. But even if the Democrats lose, rank-and-file mobilization and labor-community alliances could create a political force capable of checking Reagan's assault in the next four years. It could also reverse the decline in union membership and bargaining clout, and make organized labor a movement again. □

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✓ FIGHT THE RIGHT
✓ TAKE THE SENATE
✓ TURN THE TIDE

A RALLY AND MUSICAL REVUE FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE U.S. SENATE STARRING

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Argentina

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

while in custody, and all, so far as is known, were killed. By focusing attention on the dimensions of the horror inflicted on Argentine society by the armed forces, the report may bring dissatisfaction to a boil.

At the same time, the military establishment shows no remorse for the carnage attributed to it and justifies the bloody repression as a necessary response to the threat of "godless Bolshevism." Many officers criticize what they see as the Alfonsín administration's excessive zeal, and accuse some human-rights advocates of trying to undermine the armed forces as an institution. They and their supporters have not hesitated to attack the commission and its work.

Violence has long been a central fact of Argentine politics. The military juntas that ruled the country from 1966 to 1973 resorted to force as a means of quelling social discontent, while leftist groups resisted the dictatorship with terrorism and sporadic guerrilla warfare. During that time Juan Perón, the deposed President and leader-in-exile of a broad-based populist movement which still bears his name, encouraged his followers to destabilize the military regime; his strategy worked so well that the government in 1972 was forced to permit him to return from Spain. He was elected President in 1973.

The Peronist movement embraced elements on the extreme right and the extreme left, and they were soon warring openly with each other. The aging *caudillo* sided with the ultraconservatives. Paramilitary groups, supported by the government, emerged to do battle with the left. Perón died on July 1, 1974, and his wife, Isabel, who had been elected his Vice President, succeeded him.

Neither she nor the Peronist Party had any idea of how to extricate the nation from the crisis in which it was mired. The violence continued, and the economy, with an annual inflation rate that reached 335 percent, was on the verge of collapse. When the armed forces removed Perón from office in March 1976, most Argentines welcomed the coup.

The military junta immediately began a remorseless campaign, marked by indiscriminate arrests, torture and summary executions, against the "enemies of the fatherland." The new rulers victimized terrorists and insurgents and also nonpolitical people only marginally related to them and even innocent bystanders. The working class, which the regime wished to cow in order to keep a lid on wage demands, bore the brunt of the onslaught.

From the carnage came the sinister term *desaparecidos*, or the "disappeared," referring to those who simply vanished. The dictatorship brazenly claimed that it knew nothing of the fate of the disappeared. Human-rights groups inside and outside Argentina tried to publicize what was happening, but the press, intimidated by the murder of journalists, mostly remained silent or collaborated. Resort to the courts proved equally fruitless. Lawyers representing the families of *desaparecidos* received anonymous threats, and judges generally refused to rule against the government.

Although clothing their dirty war in righteous rhetoric, the armed forces adopted a to-the-victor-belong-the-spoils approach to their work. High-level officials profiteered shamelessly, while members of the security forces robbed at will the property of the people they liquidated.

Argentina's humiliating defeat in the Falklands conflict in 1982 and the near-collapse of the economy so discredited the regime that it had no choice but to permit a return to civilian rule. Among its last official acts was the proclamation of an amnesty for all who had committed crimes in connection with the dirty war.

On October 30, 1983, in the first free elections held in Argentina in a decade, Raúl Alfonsín and the Radical Party gained a decisive victory over the Peronists. The President immediately came under pressure from the relatives of the *desaparecidos*, who demanded information about the fate of their loved ones and punishment of the guilty. There was so much public opposition to the amnesty law that the new Congress quickly repealed it.

One of the few politicians to have spoken out consistently against human-rights abuses, Alfonsín faced a difficult decision. Riding the crest of a wave of popularity, he might have gone for the jugular and attempted to dismantle and restructure the armed forces. But a frontal attack on them would have set off a divisive, high-risk political struggle. There were other important sectors of society that had contributed to the nightmare of the late 1970s, and they might have resisted if they were included in the ambit of accountability. The paramilitary death squads had begun operating under a Peronist government. The Catholic Church hierarchy, unlike its counterparts in Brazil and Chile, had not protested publicly as thousands went to their deaths.

Alfonsín settled on a policy that he hoped would placate the human-rights community. His goal was to do justice without tearing the country apart and to enable Argentines to put the past behind them so they could address the serious economic and social problems confronting them. First, Alfonsín created a national commission to conduct a full investigation of the disappearances. Composed of prestigious individuals and endowed with ample resources, the nonpolitical body set out to compile a list of the disappeared. It also sought to determine the whereabouts of children taken from parents who were murdered while in custody or from women who gave birth in prison. (Families of military officers are suspected of having secretly adopted them.)

The government also initiated legal proceedings against members of the juntas that ruled the country between 1976 and 1983 and several other high-ranking officers allegedly responsible for human-rights violations. Those prosecutions were part of a delicate political strategy by which Alfonsín hoped to convert the armed forces to the cause of democracy (although he never specified how) and prevent future military coups. He persuaded Congress to enact laws reforming the justice system, giving to civil courts jurisdic-

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tion over crimes committed by the military against the civilian population. As a result, the type of abuses perpetrated during the dirty war have now been clearly delineated as illegal.

This legislation also gave military courts jurisdiction over prosecutions of officers for past human-rights violations. If the accused can prove he was following orders, he will be exonerated, unless he committed an "atrocious act," a term not defined in the law. In addition, the final judgments of military tribunals can be appealed to the civilian courts.

Human-rights advocates were highly critical of Alfonsín's decision to let the armed services clean their own house. They did not trust the military courts to rule expeditiously or impartially. At present, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, the highest military tribunal, has indicted only Gen. Jorge Videla, the first President after the 1976 coup; the cases of the eight other former junta members are still pending. Recently the council asked for more time to process the complaints before it and declared there was "nothing objectionable" in the way the high command conducted the dirty war, suggesting that Alfonsín's critics were right. On October 4 a federal appeals court decided to move the cases of the nine junta members to civilian court because of the Supreme Council's "unjustified delays" in meeting the new legislation's deadline for processing them.

The families of the disappeared have also resorted to the judicial system, bringing criminal actions against the unknown persons responsible for their relatives' deaths. Under Argentine law, private citizens may file such charges in civilian courts without naming the accused. Then the judge, rather than a state or federal prosecuting attorney, must investigate the case and decide whether to indict anyone.

The cases are proceeding slowly, partly because of the nature of the Argentine judicial process and partly because of delays caused by the replacement of a number of judges who had cooperated in the repression. Moreover, once a member of the armed forces is named as a defendant, he can have his trial transferred to a military tribunal. Lawyers who are representing the families of the *desaparecidos* in civilian courts are compiling evidence which they will then place before the military judges.

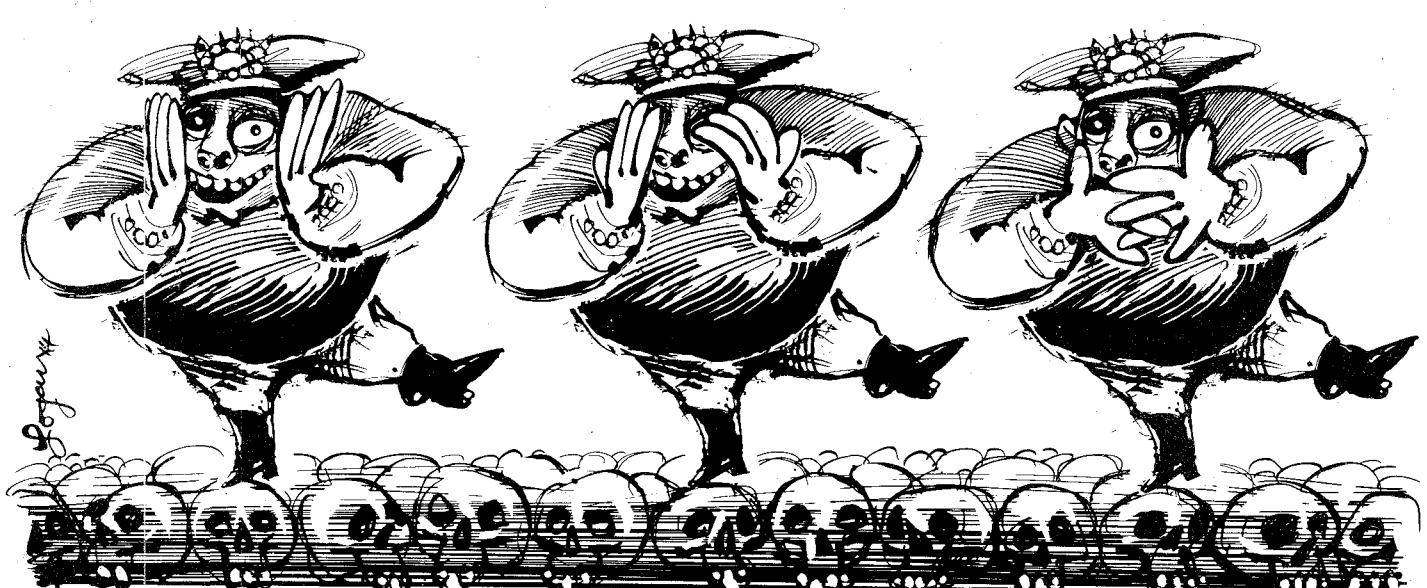
A divisive issue in the current human-rights debate is how extensive the prosecutions should be. Alfonsín wants to punish only the top commanders, but rights advocates insist that everyone who committed a crime should be held responsible. Six groups recently submitted to Congress a list of 896 officers allegedly involved in the disappearances. The presidential commission's full report is also said to name names. But so far, the men who actually carried out the military's policy of extermination have not been touched.

The Alfonsín administration is plainly wary of the power and influence the armed forces still possess. In commentary before and after the telecast of a gripping film produced by the commission to show the excesses committed by the military, a Cabinet minister undercut the documentary's message by praising the armed forces and stressing that left-wing terrorists were responsible for Argentina's nightmare.

Alfonsín's cautious attitude may derive from his loss of popularity in recent months. The economy is in disarray, and the President gives the impression that he has no plan for coping with it. He roams the country delivering speeches but seems hesitant to wield authority.

The Radical Party, a coalition of middle-class reformers, has long had a reputation for performing much better in the opposition than in government. Radical politicians have customarily been eloquent orators unable to give substance to their ideals. The last three elected Presidents from the party were driven from office by military coups.

Many Argentines fear that their country's slumbering tradition of political violence can easily be revived if Alfonsín does not resolve the human-rights problem. If the more notorious wrongdoers are not prosecuted or are acquitted, the temptation will be strong for individuals to take justice into their own hands. Left-wing extremists could cast themselves as avengers, or right-wing extremists could commit anonymous crimes that would be interpreted as acts of vengeance on the part of the left. Either way, a climate of serious destabilization could prevail, plunging Argentina once more into the abyss. □



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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Lenore Marshall Prize

*The Lenore Marshall/*Nation *Poetry Prize of $5,000, awarded annually for an outstanding book of poems published in the United States, is sponsored by the New Hope Foundation in conjunction with* The Nation. *Previous winners of the prize have been George Starbuck (1982), John Logan (1981), Sterling A. Brown (1980), Stanley Kunitz (1979), Hayden Carruth (1978), Allen Tate (1977), Philip Levine (1976), Denise Levertov (1975) and Cid Corman (1974).*

This year the prize has been awarded to Josephine Miles for her Collected Poems, 1930–83 *(University of Illinois Press). The judges were Josephine Jacobsen, Donald Justice and Alfred Corn, who has contributed the accompanying essay.*

Books entered for the 1983 Lenore Marshall Prize numbered over a hundred, and they impressed the judges as a particularly strong group, ranging from excellent first books to books by authors in midcareer to the collected poems of a lifetime. It is in the last category that we found our winner. Josephine Miles's *Collected Poems, 1930–83* draws on the author's eleven published volumes and adds to them old and new poems that were previously uncollected.

Some 250 pages of poetry, this selection from five decades of productivity is unusually meritorious—"one of the finest and solidest bodies of poetry to be found in this country," A.R. Ammons has commented. He joins a long and distinguished line of Miles's appreciators. In a review of her *Local Measures* for *The Nation* in 1946, Dudley Fitts spoke of this poet's remarkable virtuosity: "The arrangement of rhyme and assonance, the answering of stanza to stanza—everything is elaborately and even intensely worked out." You see what Fitts meant in a poem such as "So Graven," a bravura metrical performance in only six lines. An example: the "simplicity" of line one is, simply, two iambs; but in the last line of the poem, its position and the addition of "has" make it scan as an iamb plus an anapest. The agent of metamorphosis seems to be the "particular jig" of line four, whose bouncing scansion the later phrase duplicates, all in order to have "simplicity" reflect "unresolved event [that] moves in the mind."

Finally it is those unresolved events of the mind, the enigma of right thought and action, that most engage Miles; and her ideal mountain is less Parnassus than Sinai, which gave us the "great tablets [that] shatter down in deed." A concern for the unresolved also struck Randall Jarrell, another commentator on Miles's work. In *Poetry and the Age* he describes her techniques as "relishingly idiosyncratic," "just a little off" and "carefully awkward." Accurate assessment; and an important step for anyone learning to read this poet is to acquire a taste for her imbalances and "off" constructions—that is, to know them well enough to distinguish between the effective askew and the *in*effective. Sometimes, on purpose, it doesn't "work"; and then sometimes *still* doesn't. I can speak, though, as a reader to whom this poetry was almost entirely unknown before this year: it rewards rereading and study. Miles's American dialect is recognizable as a variant of daily speech, but it's not Williams's nor Frost's nor Bishop's. Less difficult than, say, conversational Portuguese, still you don't grasp it at first try. Then, like all acquired tastes, it takes on special flavor.

A certain self-effacement was the keynote of her early work; few autobiographical inferences can be drawn from it. Beginning in the 1960s, though, readers were allowed to see Josephine Miles in her role as a teacher and scholar of literature. (She has taught at the University of California at Berkeley since the 1940s and has published many studies of poetry, in particular, of poetic diction.) It also became apparent that she suffered from a lifelong physical handicap which severely limited her mobility. Knowing that helps us understand the importance for her of two ethical stances, pride and reason, which have been scanted in modern poetry. Without them, we can suppose, she wouldn't have accomplished what she has. She also expects to find pride and reason in those around her. She has an acute sense of how those qualities help constitute the social fabric on which we all depend, though we may be less conscious of it than she. Hence, one volume called *Civil Poems* (from which "Civilian" is taken). Violence and violent unreason she shows as failures in the social contract, occasions for shame. But she is not unaware of the coercive aspect of a poetry that chastises. Can one persuade without using the whip?

Those concerns stand silently behind the poems that deal with Berkeley activism during the Vietnam era and contribute to the moral anguish in them. Imperceptive observers of those times saw no middle term between, say, drug-addicted radicals and storm troopers in sworn fealty to S.I. Hayakawa. But there was a moderate, nonviolent current of opinion opposed to the war in Southeast Asia; Miles belonged to it. She saw the immorality of that war, but she also saw the consequences of losing a reasonable dialogue between opposing camps, the cost of suspending regular pedagogic relationships and the perils of violence on both sides. Some of the tears in Miles's poems of the 1960s are the tears of tragedy, and others are the result of generous sprayings of Mace. The poems that she composed out of a divided sense of right are among her most disturbing, powered by the fuel of disappointment and anger.

Her most recent poems show her still searching, still breaking ground. *Coming to Terms* (1979) is remarkable for the directness of its autobiographical particularity. "Doll," an achingly literal account of the onset of her illness, shows Miles at her narrative best; the forty-two lines of the poem contain in germ the matter for a novella. The shorter poems on the same subject—"Parent," "Album" and "Mark"—are equally telling. And when the poet, in "Mark," can invoke "blessed necessity," I think we must pay more heed to the phrase than we usually do when it is proposed by more advantaged speakers. The poem's concluding two lines are an extra stroke of wise genius, bringing us back to our own helpless-

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ness before others' misfortunes and our almost comic efforts to help them bear it, to be Job's comforters.

I can concur with Helen Vendler in finding the "ring of moral truth" in Miles's poetry, a poetry based on "strict expectations of the world" and "a stern judgment of her own failings." Also, with Denis Donoghue when he says: "The poems of Josephine Miles offer evidence that contemporary poetry houses intelligence, magnanimity, humor and excursive power." Hers is a diverse achievement, original and singular; and one based on assumptions that the late Lenore Marshall, I believe, would have readily seconded.

ALFRED CORN

SO GRAVEN

Simplicity so graven hurts the sense.
The monumental and the simple break
And the great tablets shatter down in deed.

Every year the quick particular jig
Of unresolved event moves in the mind,
And there's the trick simplicity has to win.

DOLL

Though the willows bent down to shelter us where we played
House in the sandy acres, though our dolls,
Especially Lillian, weathered all the action,
I kept getting so much earlier home to rest
That medical consultation led to cast
From head to toe. It was a surprise for my parents
And so for me also, and I railed
Flat out in the back seat on the long trip home
In which three tires blew on our trusty Mitchell.
Home, in a slight roughhouse of my brothers,
It turned out Lillian had been knocked to the floor and broken
Across the face. Good, said my mother
In her John Deweyan constructive way,
Now you and Lillian can be mended together.
We made a special trip to the doll hospital
To pick her up. But, They can't fix her after all, my father said,
You'll just have to tend her with her broken cheek.
I was very willing. We opened the box, and she lay
In shards mixed among tissue paper. Only her eyes
Set loose on a metal stick so they would open
And close, opened and closed, and I grew seasick.

A friend of the family sent me a kewpie doll.
Later Miss Babcox the sitter,
After many repetitious card games,
Said, We must talk about bad things.
Let me tell you
Some of the bad things I have known in my life.
She did not ask me mine, I could not have told her.
Among the bad things in my life, she said,
Have been many good people, good but without troubles;
Her various stories tended
To end with transmigrations of one sort or another,
Dishonest riches to honest poverty; kings and queens
To indians over an adequate space of time.
Take this cat coming along here, she said,
A glossy black cat who she fed her wages in salmon,
He is a wise one, about to become a person.
Come to think of it, possibly Lillian
Is about to become a cat.
She will have different eyes then, I said.
Obviously. Slanted, and what is more,
Able to see in the dark.

CIVILIAN

The largest stock of armaments allows me
A reason not to kill.
Defense Department does the blasting for me
As soundly as I will.

Indeed, can cover a much wider area
Than I will ever score
With a single rifle sent me on approval
From a Sears Roebuck store.

Only the psycho, meaning sick in spirit,
Would aim his personal shot
At anybody; he is sick in spirit
As I am not.

WITNESS

Gassed going between classes
Students said little,
Huddled their books and ran.
As helicopter crews waved down low at them
They were silent,
Yelled and were silent.

Now the trees speak, not running or reading
But with cast leaves tallying
The cost of a gas deterrent.
My throat alive still cries,
But how to tell without dying
Is not told by the dying trees.

MARK

Irritated by the favoritism of Jehovah
Fatherhood of God,
I thought Cain
Into the wilderness. Southern Pacific
Set up in the mesquite trees
Yellow station boards
To split and wither in the shattering heat,
And there I saw
Necessity. Blessed necessity.
Blessed ground, blessed shade
Blessed telegraph, cactus
Necessity.
To which the vulnerable parent
Nodded and smiled.

From *Collected Poems, 1930–83* (University of Illinois Press), ©1983 by Josephine Miles.

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ART.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

BLAM! The Explosion of Pop, Minimalism and Performance, 1958–1964

It is possible to view the history of painting in the present century as a sequence of revolutionizing questions of increasing scope. Cubism was a narrower investigation than Abstractionism, since it assumed that painting would remain representational while asking why it must remain tethered to our optical experiences of the visible world. Abstractionism denied representation altogether, but assumed all the conventions of pictorial space. Abstract Expressionism broke the identification between painting and pictorialism by making the act of painting central, with the work itself but a record of fierce interaction between artist and pigment. But even this abrupt reduction of paintings to the energy of their execution assumed all the formal boundaries that segregated painting from sculpture, from dance, from poetry or music or drama. The final revolution sought to erase even those, not to speak of the deeper boundaries between art and philosophy on the one side, and art and life on the other.

"Erase" is too mild a term: "explosion" is more violently apt, and the inspired exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art (until December 2) surveying the crash of barriers breached or broken in the hectic period between 1958 and 1964 is appropriately titled "BLAM!" "BLAM!" is also the title of a painting by Roy Lichtenstein, pivotal in this show, which embodies all the revolutions that preceded it and made it possible by holding them at a distance. It is perceptually equivalent to a real visible object: namely, what could be a panel from any of the standard adventure comics of the era; it is utterly pictorial because it is no longer important not to be; it camouflages painterliness by appearing to be as mechanically produced as its subject; it internalizes the boundary between fine and popular art; and it flaunts the boundary between word and image by presenting the image of a word—"BLAM!"—the violent sound of shell striking plane, sending the pilot spinning from his anguished cockpit. It encapsulates by negative synopsis the history through which the art of our century has defined itself, and stands in defiant liberation from divisions it rejects as arbitrary. It is a perfect emblem of the spirit of its time.

Pop Art drew its energy in part from the fact that it allowed itself everything that had been repudiated as extrinsic to painting by earlier revolutions, in much the same way that triumphant feminists might allow themselves to look "feminine" if it were no longer required to submerge that quality in order to claim their autonomy. From this perspective, Pop would be philosophically equivalent to Minimalist Art—a second category in the Whitney show—which explicitly eliminates what it pleases Pop to tolerate, seeking for a kind of pure, reduced artistic essence through systematic subtraction. Drawing its subtractionist imperative from the history of successive artistic purgations, Minimalism at last arrived at objects—cubes, slabs, planks, poles, metallic squares—that could finally not be told apart from their industrial counterparts in the real world save with reference to the mere concept of art. But this achieved in Minimalist vocabulary what the Pop artist achieved with Campbell soup cans and Brillo boxes and Tide cartons, the domestic flotsam of commercial reality jostled into the space of art by a kind of conceptual determination. Both Pop and Minimalism were in effect philosophical exercises, for each was groping toward something that had finally to be recognized by philosophy itself: whatever was to distinguish art from reality was not going to be something evident to the eye. Once this was acknowledged, the visual arts became detached from the act of vision, and the way was open to fusion with the other arts. And it became a matter of artistic choice what is to be the relationship between work and eye, and whether the eye is to be treated as part of the mind or as an organ of sense that can be stimulated or violated.

The happening, which is the third of the forms arrayed in the Whitney exhibition, addressed itself to breaching the boundaries between art and life by inviting viewers to participate as agents of artistic modification, enabling art to become, reciprocally, an agent for the modification of life. In a moment ad-

Arthur C. Danto is the author of The Transfiguration of the Commonplace *(Harvard University Press).*

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mittedly more often hoped for than attained, all esthetic distances were to collapse. Allan Kaprow's original happenings were exciting in part because the insulating conventions of gallery space could no longer be counted on to protect work and viewer from each other, and one entered them with a sense of danger: just to experience the works in the way they demanded required decisions of an order not commonly called for in the moral spaces of museums or theaters. Of course, nothing like this is possible any longer, and the reconstituted happenings at the Whitney are distancing quotations of original environments which the visitor now enters as a tourist, secure in the identities the happenings once attacked, as little in danger of being swamped as the visitors to colonial Williamsburg are of turning into Minutemen.

This is true, I think, even of the spectacular jumble of tires, hundreds and hundreds of them, deployed in the areaway below street level in front of the museum. It re-enacts an environment of 1961 which Kaprow created in the *cortile* of the Martha Jackson Gallery. Called "Yard," it was to have made a transcultural reference to the raked gravel gardens of Zen, and in the manner of Zen it was supposed, I imagine, to illuminate through the sudden shock of seeing worn tires in the atmosphere of refined sensibility the art gallery once stood for. The 1984 reconstitution is vastly augmented in size and number, but it cannot resuscitate the shock. Piles of tires, piles of anything, are what people expect to see in proximity to museums these days. The only avenue for serious shock, at least within the limits of moral possibility, would have been for the Whitney to have allowed some of its more famous holdings—its Hoppers and Averys, Gorkys and Motherwells—to be strewn outside and exposed to the fumes of taxis and buses, or to the tossed butt. We are all prepared to see tires elevated to art, but there is a barrier against seeing paintings demoted to the status commonly occupied by tires. There is a political asymmetry in artistic revolutions, where rude objects clamor for the prerogatives of artistic aristocracy, but aristocrats are seldom flung into alleys or even symbolically junked except by maniacs.

The entire brief period canvassed at the Whitney had, in its own right, some of the properties of its most representative achievements. It was itself a kind of

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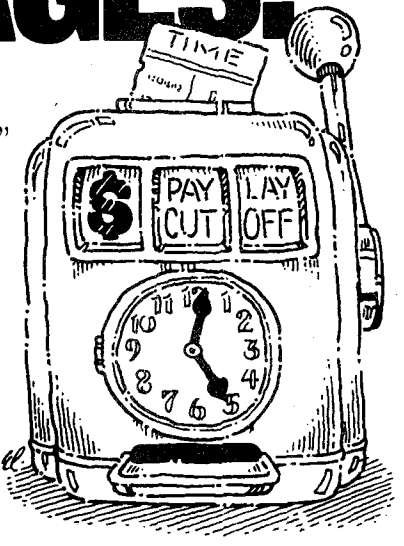

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happening, in that no one who entered it knew how it was to come out, and everyone was driven by the most extraordinary optimisms regarding the transformative powers of art. The period began insidiously, under the sullen shadows of Abstract Expressionism, and ended sharply, when everyone became slick and expensive, and the art world became a precinct of the world of high fashion, and the great dealers assumed the role of makeweights in the marketplace of taste. The works here have a tacky urgency, a willed impermanence, which gives the show its air of paradox. For these works were not aimed at museum installation, but were meant to be effective in some way that is at odds with the apparatus of preservation and connoisseurship and constrained presentation that defines the space of even the liveliest museums. The initiating works of Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, for example, have the dusty look of memorabilia dragged from the attic. Rauschenberg's legendary combine, in which a lonely tire rings the neck of a stuffed goat, is too fragile now to travel, I was told by Barbara Haskell, to whose superb curatorial enterprise the exhibition is due. There is something grimly comic in the thought of that pretty funny assemblage being kept intact by geriatric measures when it is the destiny of stuffed goats to fall apart. But in a way this is true of almost everything here: in almost every instance ephemerality is given permanence by artificial infusion—a kind of esthetic taxidermy.

The way these works were meant to be effective was the way the political happenings of the later 1960s were meant to be, and one cannot overlook how the spirit of the artworks surfaced in what we refer to as The Sixties (well after Johns and Lichtenstein, Warhol and Oldenburg, Rosenquist and Rauschenberg had become established as cultural monuments) in the forms of protest and confrontation. Politics, it was often enough observed at the time, had become a genre of happening, and protest a mode of theater, and rebellion a style of life. The transformative ambitions of the artists were transmitted, perhaps through the massive publicity these movements received in the popular press, and inherited by the counterculture. And the ragbag thrift-shop look of so many of these works became the costume of political participation in the peace marches and teach-ins, the demonstrations and rock festivals that swept the youth of the world. Much in the way that young people began to "dress for success" and take up positions in the corporate establishment, the prefiguring artworks took on the air of permanence we find among those that made it to the second floor of the Whitney, where visitors wander reverently past crushed automobiles and elaborate rearrangements of shambled furniture.

But here, in suitably temporary quarters on the fourth floor, everything is rowdy and daring and playful and brash. It was a moment of delicious freedom, when the rules of the game became part of the game and everything seemed open. The giant presences of Abstract Expressionism had lost their power to paralyze, and the corporatization of the art world had not yet taken place. The Whitney has given the art world of today a glimpse, shattering in its innocence, of its marvelous, irrecoverable childhood. It did not grow up to what it promised, but the boundaries it trampled deserved, mostly, to be trampled, just as the boundaries assaulted in the 1960s deserved, mostly, to be broken. It is often claimed that artworks offer metaphors for life. What the Whitney has done is to show how a period of art history is a metaphor for social transformation. Its short, boisterous duration is sobering, though it would be nice to believe that the spirit of liberation might live on in society, despite the cautioning rigidities that have overtaken the art world.

There is another perspective under which the exhibit may be pondered: that of the historical counterfactual, which enables us to speculate about what might have become of these artists had the movement not taken place. Rosenquist, and certainly Warhol, were so congruent with the movement that gave them prominence that we cannot imagine an identity for them outside it. Oldenburg would have been a master whichever way art had gone, and Judd might have been. So might Lichtenstein, to judge from two exuberant drawings of 1958, though of Bugs Bunny and Mickey Mouse. I am provoked to this reflection by a haunting, even exquisite portrait collage by Tom Wesselmann, as luminous as an old master. Wesselmann is represented here by later works, irreverent and audacious, incorporating the appurtenances of bathrooms and

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kitchens. And he went on to paint his variations on the Great American Nude, pink, heavily nippled female forms with neat pubic triangles, bathing and lounging, like plastic cutouts of the women of Bonnard. They are fine, sassy pieces, but the collage of 1959 is a poem, and it induces a nostalgia for the artist Wesselmann might have become and for the art world in which he might have become it. Of course this might be only a deflected nostalgia for a world in which such an art world would be possible rather than the one to which, considered now as social documents, these works were a collective response. □

Nourishing a Doctrine

GEORGE BLACK

UNMANIFEST DESTINY: Mayhem and Illusion in American Foreign Policy—From the Monroe Doctrine to Reagan's War in El Salvador. *By T.D. Allman. Dial. 468 pp. $19.95.*

Almost the first dictum that budding Latin Americanists tack to the wall above their typewriters comes from the grand old man of the continent's independence, Simón Bolívar. More than 150 years ago, Bolívar declared, "The United States seems destined by providence to plague [Latin] America with miseries in the name of freedom." The contradiction between the rhetoric of democracy, progress and Free World values and the dismal realities of murder and backwardness haunts the soul of U.S. foreign policy.

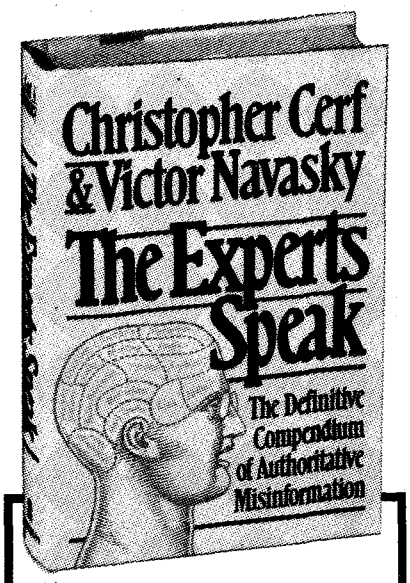
This has been most obvious, it is tempting to say, in Central America during the last four years. Precisely because the crisis there is so intractable, Washington's efforts to sell and sanitize its policies have been more intense. An Administration that prides itself on its control of image, information and the national agenda has had a certain undeniable success in casting *contras* as "freedom fighters," Nicaragua as a "totalitarian dungeon" and Salvadoran Army officers as pious devotees of human rights. Reagan's mastery of what political analyst Walter Dean Burnham calls the "shamanistic aspects of the Presidency" has led many of us to believe that the syndrome originates with him.

Bolívar's observation is a useful reminder that this kind of double talk has been around for centuries, and for many Latin Americans, it is a daily source of wonder and despair. In the conduct of its Presidents as well as the attitudes of its inhabitants, the United States remains the most resolutely ahistorical of nations, the most prone to self-mythologizing. To stave off doubt or dissent about the moral direction of its foreign policy, one Administration after another has reached deep into the wellspring of national myth and patriotic self-image and disguised its imperial actions in the language of victory and moral righteousness.

Why? asks T.D. Allman in *Unmanifest Destiny*. Why these "extravaganzas of destruction . . . in the name of freedom"? Why this "national capacity for fantasy"? *Unmanifest Destiny* is a bold survey of the recurring traumas of U.S. foreign policy. It muses on the first colonial adventures of the early nineteenth century, treks through the disasters of Southeast Asia and finally arrives, somewhat exhausted, at the present crisis in Central America. It is heartening to see a journalist—particularly one as well versed as Allman in the minutiae of U.S. history—make an unusual foray into the psychological and ideological mysteries of this country's drive beyond its own shores and try to tease out the historical reasons for its excesses, failures and deceptions. But one reason for the rarity of the psychological approach to history may be the problems of method it presents. The difficulties are formidable, and Allman, sadly, is only intermittently able to overcome them.

Allman's epigraph, from William Graham Sumner's 1911 *War*, is nicely chosen. "If you want war," it reads, "nourish a doctrine. Doctrines are the most frightful tyrants to which men are ever subject, because doctrines get inside a man's own reason and betray him against himself." Unreason and betrayal are at the core of Allman's argument, and he is most compelling when he analyzes the doctrines formulated by figures such as James Monroe and James K. Polk. Depending on one's

George Black is the editor of NACLA's Report on the Americas.



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A14 THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1984

Vatican Reported to Have Sought Rebukes for 2 Other Latin Clerics

By MARLISE SIMONS
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, Sept. 10 — Roman Catholic Church sources say the Vatican sought without success to have two leading Latin American theologians rebuked for their writings on the church's relationship with the poor before calling a third theologian to Rome for direct interrogation.

The third churchman, Friar Leonardo Boff, 44 years old, a Franciscan from Brazil, was questioned last Friday about his writings by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith.

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politics, the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 is commonly described either as an ennobling exercise in spreading the blessings of democracy to a benighted hemisphere or as a lethal declaration of imperial arrogance. In fact, as Allman demonstrates at length, it was neither. More prosaically, it was an adroit piece of nineteenth-century *Realpolitik*, masterminded by a British Foreign Secretary, George Canning. What has made the doctrine so dangerous is its selective application and revisionist interpretation in the hands of succeeding Administrations.

Polk, whose doctrine is more obscure, is a historical figure well worth disinterring. His seizure of Mexico in 1846, extending the union by conquest and preserving it by war, was the full-blown expression of Manifest Destiny. More important, Polk's behavior initiated that familiar twin thrust of so much subsequent U.S. policy: view history as conspiracy (in the 1840s the British and the Mexicans were the villains); then portray U.S. expansion as a just response to fictitious acts of aggression by the conspirator.

Part of Allman's difficulty is in blending historical exposition with bursts of rhetorical indignation. His text is punctuated by elaborate metaphors for America's national psychosis and its failure to achieve self-knowledge. The most powerful of these is borrowed from Frances FitzGerald. It is the Vietnam War planners' fantasy of an ultimate center of communist conspiracy, COSVN, "a reverse Pentagon in the jungle complete with Marine Guards, generals and green baize tables," and their belief that the war could be won if only COSVN could be located and destroyed.

Unfortunately, the metaphors remain just metaphors—terribly suggestive but short on explanation. None of Allman's encyclopedic research solves the most persistent enigma: Are U.S. policymakers malign and duplicitous or sincere and misguided? Even Richard Nixon remains inscrutable. "We possess no evidence," says Allman, "that Nixon ever deviated from the belief that we fought in Vietnam for a just and honorable cause." Jeane Kirkpatrick, that avatar of ideological politics, may hold the key to Allman's dilemma in her view that Marxism is the enemy and any action taken to defeat it is moral. But Allman's understandable rage at Kirkpatrick takes the place of analysis, and that point is never quite made.

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If *Unmanifest Destiny* is hard pressed to explain the horrors perpetrated by the United States, it positively flounders in dealing with Central America. Its account is littered with errors of fact and perception. "To commit the United States to a regime of torture and murder in a foreign country," Allman exclaims angrily, "is to taint ourselves, as well, with the most loathsome corruptions." Agreed, but he gives no sense of a causal connection between the policies of the United States and those of its vicious client nations. Nicaragua and El Salvador remain alien and unknowable, their "loathsome corruptions" intrinsic to their condition. Allman's Central America is all feudalism and entropy, rumbling volcanos and atavistic Mayan bloodlust. "In El Salvador," he writes, "the talent for killing, like the gift for dying, simply overwhelmed any capacities either the good or the bad possessed for dealing with the complexities of life." That characterization is inaccurate and, in its way, as ahistorical as the self-serving assertion by a U.S. diplomat that violence is simply "in the culture."

At the end of the day, Allman implicitly admits that the task of explanation is beyond him. In his anguished search for the soul of America, he ransacks the culture, from *Apocalypse Now* to Thoreau, from Walt Whitman to *Moby Dick*, to conclude that "only a literary genius, some master of the surreal, could do full justice to the self-repeating, self-perpetuating absurdities of destruction." It is a sterile conclusion, and one that is characteristic of too much recent liberal commentary on Central America. Allman could have found a dozen Latin American writers who see progress as well as absurdity in the region's ordeal. But, depressingly, he chooses to quote the conservative Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges, who with his gift for evoking "nearly half a millennium of ceaselessly self-repeating futility" remains obstinately locked in an ivory tower.

Embedded somewhere in *Unmanifest Destiny* is a good feature article on the four murdered churchwomen in El Salvador, some fine flourishes of invective and perhaps a scathing Op-Ed piece. Allman's instincts are deeply humane and his anger righteous, but in the end he is swamped in a morass of a book that raises many more questions than it can answer. □

Willing Goodness

J. PATRICK LEWIS

THE NEW AMERICAN POVERTY. *By Michael Harrington. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 271 pp. $17.95.*

Twenty-two years and a dozen books after *The Other America*, Michael Harrington tells us that if the numbers of the poor haven't changed—and they haven't—the nature of poverty has. Unlike its predecessor, *The New American Poverty* has to deal "not with an ignorant indifference that makes the poor invisible, but with a sophisticated and 'scientific' attempt to define them out of existence."

This time the poignant vignettes of pain, vividly drawn in his earlier book, are mostly gone. But it is disingenuous of Harrington to say that he regrets taking leave of the Other America in order to account for the "macroeconomic structures" that "impair our vision of it." With a jeweler's eye and a detective's nose, he is as much at home wading through government data as he is wandering through the Appalachian foothills.

After a thirty-year career devoted to social democracy, Harrington has become arguably the most prominent critic of capitalism we now have. Cast in the mold of Norman Thomas and Eugene V. Debs, he evinces a moral outrage that always avoids the high-pitched whine, the ill-tempered screed. His latest revelations will prompt charges of overcount and overkill from, among others, the neoconservatives—Gertrude Himmelfarb, James Q. Wilson, Thomas Sowell—whom he treats to his velvet-gloved criticism. But the burden of disproving his formidable case falls to them as well as to the blinkered majority of Americans who, after more than two decades, still find it hard to identify, but easy to blame, the victims.

As Harrington sees it, poverty, or rather poverties—the "new structures of misery"—are now more deeply en-

J. Patrick Lewis writes about economics for The Progressive.

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trenched and hence more difficult to abolish than they were in 1962. Once the poor had been "discovered," most Americans, enjoying the exceptional prosperity of the 1960s, acquiesced in the government's ballyhooed commitment "to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty." Justice became, for a while, good economics. Conventional welfare programs worked reasonably well then, but as the war on poverty fell hostage to expenditures in Vietnam, there never actually were billions for the poor. This fact, seldom reported in the media, probably would not have been enough to alter the public misperception of coddled, promiscuous Aid to Families with Dependent Children mothers and food stamp cheats, but it might have helped some.

The stagflation of the 1970s destroyed whatever remained of the national mood of magnanimity. Rather suddenly, "meanness was good economics." As Harrington comments dryly, "It is somewhat more problematic to summon the average American to such a struggle [against poverty] in the midst of declining wages and chronic unemployment." Little wonder then that Carter's deep recession turned the middle class "savagely against a gigantic antipoverty boondoggle that never took place."

But attacking Washington's pinch-fisted policies of the last decade mistakes symptom for cause. Some of the "newness" of poverty derives from the massive economic and social transformations wrought by America's belated entry into the world economy. Yet though Harrington mentions "global crisis" and the "internationalization of poverty," he leaves those forces unexplored. Nor are his tales of misfortune in the domestic and world economies clearly enough connected to one another.

When it comes to the technological revolution that has rocked the U.S. occupational structure, however, Harrington portrays the forces at work with precision. As smokestack industries collapse in the heartland, the unemployed look for jobs in the lower reaches of high-tech or in fast-food restaurants—but at half their former wages. The middle class shrinks; markets contract; workers producing for that middle class lose their jobs; the downward spiral persists. Harrington describes a "reserve army of the future poor," men and women with "good" jobs in the 1960s and 1970s who are most vulnerable to the structural deficiencies of the economy.

Elsewhere, he is encyclopedic in detailing the diverse fates of the poor across the land: the plight of undocumented workers; the vast numbers of mental patients who have been dumped in the streets; the army of impoverished women who are heads of households; the American Indians at the tag end of despair; the homeless, many of them "gentrified" out of their dwellings; the black laborers who are still poor despite their commitment to the work ethic; the inhabitants of Appalachia, whose "old poverty" remains intractable.

There are those who seek to brighten this picture by redefining poverty. In Harrington's felicitous phrase, and in the book's most notable chapter, they are the new Gradgrinds (after Thomas Gradgrind, Dickens's fact-mongering curmudgeon). A few paleoconservative economists in academia have made careers in this numbers racket. All they needed was a government blessing for their labors. For the last three years, the Census Bureau has offered alternative, unofficial estimates of poverty that include the market value of noncash, in-kind benefits—food stamps, Medicaid, housing subsidies—in the pelf of the poor. In 1983 a family of four was classified as poor if it had a cash income of $10,178. If the statistical legerdemain of the Census Bureau and the Reagan Administration prevails, more than one-third of the officially defined poor will be propelled straight into the middle class.

But why calculate the value of in-kind benefits to the entire poverty population when a small fraction—the aging poor—receives a disproportionate share? And why should anyone, especially critics of government waste assume that the transfer of in-kind goods and services is made with a hundred percent efficiency when in fact these benefits are handed over in very leaky buckets? Why don't we perform the same statistical service to the nonpoor by figuring into their incomes the cash value of public schools, employee medical plans and home mortgage deductions?

We know that *The Other America* was a major stimulus for John F. Kennedy's war on poverty. But Harrington cannot hope to have the same effect this time around. President Reagan, though "perplexed" as he says by the problem

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of hunger in America, shows every sign of widening his war against the poor. In January his task force, unimpressed by claims of widespread hunger, could not fathom how cutbacks in Federal spending for food assistance harmed the poor. To one of his task *farceurs*, "the biggest problem among the poor is obesity—not hunger" and "as we look at the problems of our blacks, all we have to do is look at our sports page to see who are the best nourished in the country."

As in his *Decade of Decision*, Harrington uses *The New American Poverty* to disabuse us of the notion that progress can be achieved *without* deep structural change. "What is inarguable," he says, "is that if America accepts an official rate of 6-7 percent unemployment as necessary for the system, the problems of misery and social breakdown will increase in 'good' times and become epidemic in bad times." His bill of particulars includes what are by now staples of the left: national economic planning, plant closing legislation, restrictions on mergers, national health care, redistribution of income. Yet a thoroughly persuasive case for institutional change goes a bit limp when he ends with an attitude of hope founded on good will. It is to the decency *and* the self-interest of the middle class that he appeals—a carpentered liberal fantasy whose elements are as incompatible as fire and ice. "How is it that justice and self-interest are, in this miraculous case, in harmony with each other? Full employment is good for almost everyone. That is the critical reason." And that, as they say, remains to be seen. Not since 1969 has the elusive dream of truly full employment been realized, and then only through the nightmare of Vietnam. The full employment lobby and the nation's 40 million to 50 million poor stand to gain much more from the author's considered policy proposals than they do from a misbegotten marriage of altruism and greed.

Are policy changes likely? More to the point, can they eradicate poverties so systemic in nature? Activists like Harrington never despair. Poverty need not be an inevitable personal fate or a permanent societal curse. But it is difficult to come away from his book sharing its end note of hope, for no one writing on the subject has as tellingly described the strength and unrelieved grimness of the forces arrayed against the poor. □

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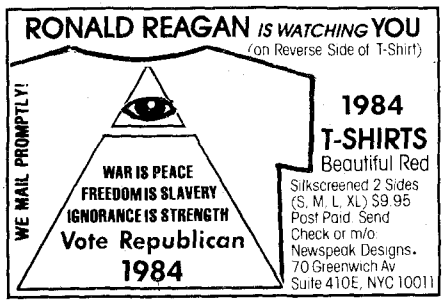

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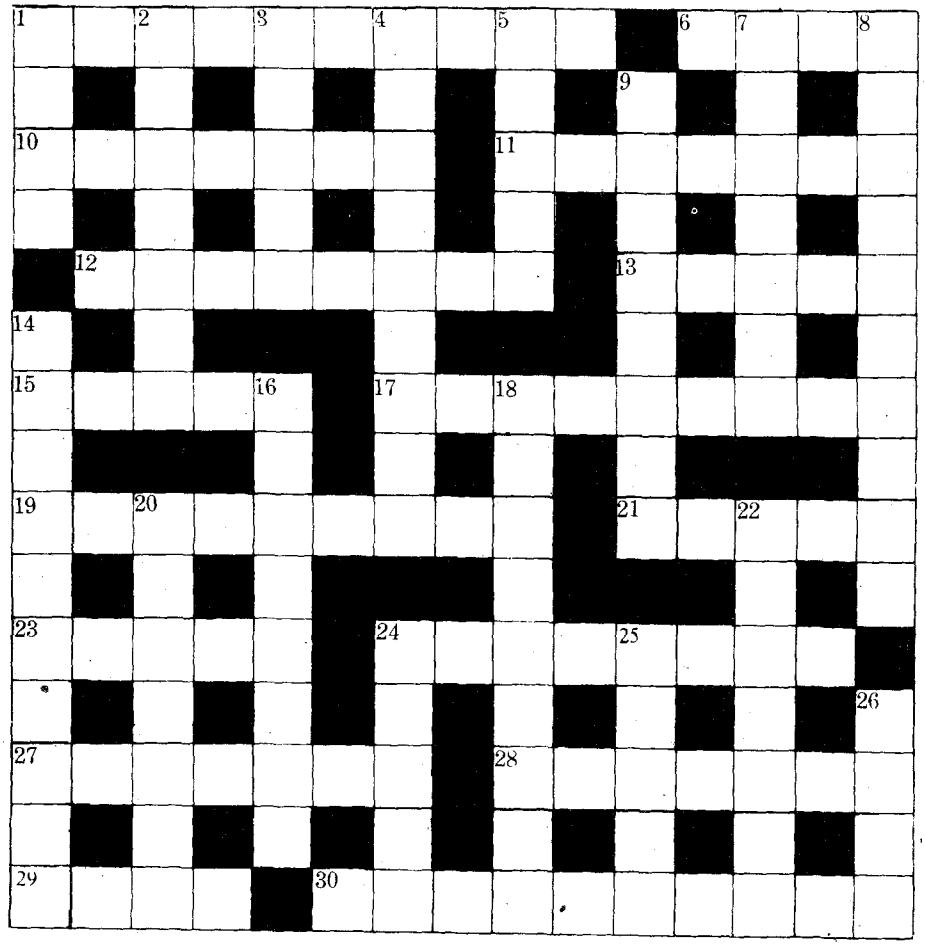

ACROSS

1 See 21
6 Some wine is left for the sailor, obviously! (4)
10 Cheer up the happy home. (7)
11 and 23 Check the air—and I don't want to hear any more of it! (4,3,5)
12 Malady might mark the hang-out of some doctors. (8)
13 Professors are supposed to cheat badly! (5)
15 One might consider it also concerning Mr. Previn. (5)
17 The green color inside Amtrack perhaps makes it rock. (9)
19 A blooming egoist, no doubt! (9)
21 and 1 across What they called Prohibition suggests an undertaking for such as Earl. (5,10)
23 See 11
24 Possibly andirons from Alsatia? (8)
27 You'll be sorry if you do this! (7)
28 Its role sort of hangs around. (7)
29 About as quiet as a band. (4)
30 The United States, in short, contains a sort of backer for painting, perhaps. (3,7)

DOWN

1 See 2
2, 1 down and 7 Something taken from the barnyard illegally, superior to "your health" perhaps—it might be just what you ordered! (7,4,2,5)
3 Responsible for 8, alternatively rising with a lot of noise. (5)
4 Evidently they stood up one at a time, but an oil change takes several weeks around here. (9)
5 Containers of 1 down, perhaps. (5)
7 See 2
8 His certainly seems to be a fixed idea. (3,7)
9 Oddly enough, the North use a version of it! (8)
14 Evidently it takes a lot of work to get a liquor-size soup mixture! (6,4)
16 Showing it's sort of nice around six, but no good afterward! (8)
18 In place of Vienna, Capone makes for a different country. (9)
20 Is indignant, but stays around the thin size, as a type. (7)
22 It might deflate the occasion, but has a large lead composition. (3,4)
24 A fine description for 1 down, but those that annoy may be told not to get it. (5)
25 Rover is about in, and that's what's happening! (5)
26 They might be poisonous, like some afterthoughts. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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